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CRAFTING CULTURE: TAPPING INTO IDENTITY AND PLACE THROUGH
THE CRAFT BEER MOVEMENT IN OKLAHOMA

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CRAFTING CULTURE: TAPPING INTO IDENTITY AND PLACE THROUGH
THE CRAFT BEER MOVEMENT IN OKLAHOMA

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ABSTRACT

In this anthropological study, I take an ethnographic approach to analyzing the constructions of identity in Oklahoma through the craft beer movement. I use the concept of a “sense of place,” where I take a look into the legal changes that have affected the community, underlying religious influences, and the two sides of gentrification: growth and development on the one hand, and displacement on the other. In relation to the craft beer community, I examine the hiring process and the importance of identifying those who will “fit in,” and analyze the labels of three different breweries in Oklahoma City in terms of how they represent an Oklahoma identity, as well as how they market themselves individually. I also discuss how gendered perceptions of beer types and the glasses they are served in influence customer choices as reflections of identity. I explore the concept of taste, first explaining the physiological features of taste, then associating this with the taste of place. I then identify three social statuses within the craft beer community: the average drinker, the “beer nerd” aficionado, and the industry worker. Using the double concept of “taste” and identifying specific practices of each group, I highlight the distinctions between these statuses. Altogether, I conclude that the craft beer movement is a type of “imagined community” that has ties to the local, as well as the national and global.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Acknowledgements	vi
2. Introduction: First Draught	1
3. Chapter One: Red Dirt	7
4. Chapter Two: Crafting Community	27
5. Chapter Three: Hopsplaining	49
6. Chapter Four: Swirl, Sniff, Sip	71
7. Conclusion: Imagining Oklahoma	92
8. Bibliography	99

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INTRODUCTION

FIRST DRAUGHT

With 15 days left of voting, Stonecloud sat at the number fifteen spot on *USA Today's* list of top new breweries in the United States. A brewery that opened up during the summer of 2017 in the middle of Oklahoma had made it onto a nationally recognized list. Perhaps the most surprising aspect is that the brewery sits in the middle of Oklahoma. Oklahoma, a state that people fly over and see windmills, or perhaps nothing at all. A state that is not recognized for having exciting and innovative restaurants. A state with an atmosphere of conservative views and sticky air.

However, there is something happening, something bustling within the mix. Somehow, the number one restaurant in America found its home in the heart of Oklahoma City, and now Oklahoma has some of the most liberal medical marijuana laws in the country. Craft breweries are finding their ground within the laws and generating local beverages that sell nationally. Oklahoma has gone through some significant transformations within the last few years that have generated attention from people who have previously overlooked the state. Young people are coming home instead of leaving, and state pride has found a new meaning.

I moved to Oklahoma to start school at the University of Oklahoma as an undergraduate in 2014. From day one, I always told my parents or friends and family who asked that I was not staying in this state after graduation, that I'd move

back to Texas or move to somewhere that had “more of a city life;” however, it wasn’t until I began research for my master’s thesis that I heard the rumbling of change and growth about to explode the stereotypes that put Oklahoma in a box. I immediately wanted to get a more in-depth understanding of this state and the deep connections people who live here hold.

I decided to explore the growing industry of craft beer in the city when I learned of the liquor law changes that occurred in 2016. I realized that breweries were opening up all over the city, and my curiosity was piqued. There was an energy that existed when you went into the different breweries that was more than just an alcohol buzz. At the time I couldn’t quite put my finger on it, but as I dove into my research, it quickly became clear.

I started with the basic concept of identity and wanted to see how craft beer shaped Oklahoma identity, but wanted the industry to show me how rather than using theories already conjured by previous anthropologists. My use of craft beer to examine identity was strategic because a niche product like craft beer is extremely localized as well as national. I could use beer as a gateway to discuss how Oklahomans structure their identity within the larger framework of the United States and world, all while being localized to one state.

When I began my research at Stonecloud Brewing Co. in Oklahoma City, I knew next to nothing about craft beer. I chose this specific brewery as my focal point after visiting two others. I first visited with Vanessa House Brewing Co. and spoke to a couple of owners while they were still in their early stages of developing their brewery. I then spoke with the head brewer at Anthem Brewing Co. as another

option. Although all three breweries showed interested in the project I chose Stonecloud because they were located in a historic building, coming up on their one-year anniversary, and honestly, I really enjoyed the conversations and the atmosphere of the brewery when I first visited. Once I got the final approval from the owner, my research began. I spent the entire summer from June through August, nearly five days a week, completely involved in the craft beer movement. I continued fieldwork into October, until after the new law was implemented.

My main method of gathering information was through participant observation where I got involved as much as I possibly could and was open to any information that was presented to me. Since I had absolutely no prior knowledge of craft beer or the industry, I was open to learn everything that was available to me. Participant observation is hands on; it is an embodied experience where the researcher gains a first-hand experience of the community. I put myself in situations where I could feel and adapt as if I were a member myself. I worked in the back of the brewery at Stonecloud to understand production and how the brewery relates to their consumers. I went to multiple events, like the Craft Beer Summit, to visit with the consumers and industry workers in a social environment, as well as worked in the taproom, or tasting room, of Stonecloud to witness the immediate interactions between industry workers and consumers. I even participated in sensory training where I was exposed to the chemical imbalances that can occur in beer. I also spoke with Senator Stephanie Bice to hear about the process of changing the laws. I quickly realized that the best source of information gathering was going to be through casual conversations during fieldwork rather

than formal interviews. While I still did a few recorded interviews, they were often short and I received more structured responses. Something about knowing there is a recording device makes an interviewee more tight-lipped. Allowing casual conversations to flow freely on their own terms was my main source of information, and because of this, I wrote everything down as much and as fast as I could.

Through participant observation, I began to see how place influenced and reflected identity through labels. I learned different aspects of the craft beer industry that have reinforced aspects of identity special to Oklahoma in regards to the sense of Oklahoma pride these breweries encompass. My role as a participating observer offers unique insights that only I have been given access because of my status as a young female completely new to the industry. My insights and perspectives may be different than someone who has a different background or more knowledge of craft beer and decides to enter this field. The situations and people that I was exposed to all offered an interesting perspective that has made my work what it is today.

One day during the midst of my research I went shopping for a birthday gift for a friend and stumbled upon a new brewery. It was a brewery that rested in the middle of a neighborhood in Norman and wasn't very big. When I walked in, a kind bartender greeted me with a big smile. I began telling her my research and she was immediately intrigued by my work, but so was everyone else in the bar. Before I knew it, I was engaging in conversation with everyone in the brewery. It was there where I realized another important aspect of my research: place.

Identity is structured by multiple facets, and for the craft beer movement, the place where it is developing is extremely important. The people at this brewery told me that what makes this specific brewery so unique is the fact that everyone knows each other, that no matter when they come in, there is always a familiar face. They said that this place was an extension of home. It got me thinking about the context of place and space and how people interact under the influences of craft beer. Do they connect because they're drunk? Is it because they are situated in the same place or community so they feel a sense of connection with each other?

I focused on identity and its relation to place in the movement of Oklahoma craft beer. However, because of where I did my research, I would like to clarify when I say "Oklahoma identity," or other general all-encompassing statements, that my main source of information was from Oklahoma City breweries and some Norman breweries. I recognize that every city has a different history, which means their identity construction and expression is different as well. So in my discussions of place, Oklahoma City is my main frame of reference. In my first chapter, I outline the importance of place specifically to Oklahoma. With the laws that have just changed, many brewers are opening up new businesses to sell their products; some are even renovating old buildings, bringing history into the present. I define the meaning of local and how people are connected to something that benefits the place they live. People are more inclined to support something or someone who has grown up where they have and understands Oklahoma in the same way.

In my second chapter, I outline the ethnographic self, where I discuss my personal role as the ethnographer and my experiences obtaining my information.

Through my discussions of my ethnographic self, I discuss how to navigate the craft beer industry as someone who is trying to get involved and the practices that are expressed and reinforced to create the type of person who fits in. In my third chapter, I discuss how breweries express the semiotics of different breweries' labels as well as the semiotics of beer glasses as they relate to gender, history, and practical use.

My fourth chapter highlights the different social groups found within the craft beer industry: industry workers, beer nerds, and the average consumer. I outline the distinctions between all of these groups and how they influence the subject of taste. I also discuss the concept of taste of place and how breweries use the local to appeal to their consumer's tastes. I use my research to show how the craft beer community is structured through commonalities of place and other underlying influences, like religion and politics, which are experienced within Oklahoma as a state. All these different facets indicate how significant it is that a brewery in the middle of Oklahoma has been nominated for the best new brewery by *USA Today*.

CHAPTER ONE

RED DIRT

It's a little past midnight and I'm weaving through the hallways of the offices that sit upstairs of the brewery. I'm the last in line of a train of bartenders as we head to the roof to overlook the Oklahoma City skyline. Colton is the bartender leading the way; he runs the taproom during the day and holds a key to the building. He opens a large metal door to reveal a power room, and in the corner there is a long ladder that reaches to the ceiling with a small trap door. He begins the climb up the ladder with a key in his hands to unlock the door. It swings open into the August night.

Next up the ladder is a train of all different kinds of hair. There's Michael, who is known for his wild bright red hair and curly beard, then Jake, who has a more well-kept beard that frames his face rather than being its center focus. Behind him is his wife, Jess, whose red hair bounces with every step, and even somehow bounces when she's not walking. My hair is the last up the ladder. As I make it through the threshold of the ceiling, a hand reaches out to help me up the last of the ladder; it's Colton. I grab his hand and stumble out onto the roof into the warm air. I turn around and my eyes are immediately drawn to a bright orange, red, and yellow neon sign that reads:

Sunshine

Laundry Cleaners

Drive In Service

On top of the sign there is a moving image of the sun, with different colored lights illuminating in sequence to suggest movement. The sign lights the roof with warm colors and it's surprisingly quiet. The rush of city life is a little too far away to overhear, so a calming silence surrounds us. In the distance rests the downtown Oklahoma City skyline, standing strong against the blackness of the night. The Devon Tower is the center of attention, as it stands tallest amongst the other buildings. A reminder of this growing city, cranes hang above more buildings under construction.

I don't notice the bartenders moving to the opposite side of the roof until I hear Jake call out my name. I make my way towards them while still looking out onto the city. I can't help but think about all that the iconic Sunshine neon sign has witnessed over the years. It has proudly stood in the sky since 1929 and has had a front row view of the changing and expanding city. It was a witness to the repeal of Prohibition in the state in 1959; it shuddered as the terrorist bomb hit its neighbor, the Murrah Federal Building, in 1995, and it also heard the roar of screaming fan as the Thunder became the first professional team to call Oklahoma City home in 2008. Even now, the neon lights shine bright on the city with the number one restaurant in America, Nonesuch¹, and witness all the new faces that step into its lights to experience an often overlooked city. The bartenders bring a couple of Stonecloud beers onto the roof and with the release of pressure from the can opening, I bring it to the sky and cheer the city and its history.

¹ *Bon Appétit*, in their annual list of top 10 new restaurants in the country, declared Nonesuch number one in 2018. <http://projects.bonappetit.com/hot10/p/1>

Eventually we decide to make our way down from the roof. As we weave through the conference rooms of the offices, I look out the window overlooking the brewery. This time I don't see the metal tanks or the wooden barrels, but the ghost of a Laundromat where rows and rows of industrial washing machines furiously twist and turn to clean the dirty laundry for the nearby restaurants, hotels, and prison. I can almost see the workers weaving in and out making sure everything is working smoothly and I imagine the place smelling of laundry detergent.

We head downstairs and back through the glass doors into the taproom once again. As I pass the threshold, I get a glimpse of the graffiti that sits under a long table overlooking the brewery that reads, "Gypsy was here '88." I lift my head and look into the brewery and this time I see something different. I imagine a wall consumed in shrubbery, a boat tied to the rafters, and a gap where the ceiling once was but the stars now take its place. I see the remnant of a place that once was, where different groups of people and different forms of life once lived. I see the plants and all of the creatures that came to find a home in them. I see the homeless people who once found community in the large courtyard of the building and stayed to rest their heads at night.

My head snaps back into reality when I feel Jake bump against my shoulder. The brewery is back to its current form, with its white painted bricks covering the graffiti of a past life. Paintings of mountains cover where moss used to grow, and a polished floor now supports those who walk on it. I head out to my car under the brewery lights and I glance once more at the building that has stood so strong for so

many decades. As I drive off, I get a glimpse of the neon sunshine sign in my rearview mirror and smile at its resilience.

From a Laundromat, to a refuge for the homeless, to a brewery, this building has experienced so much and has been called a home to so many different people throughout the years. And there it rests and will continue to rest now as an official historical monument in Oklahoma City. It shall remain standing bright in the sky, even if the occasional light bulb goes out every once in awhile.



Figure 1: The Neon Sign that sits above Stonecloud.

There is a common misconception about Oklahoma that nothing ever happens here and that the state stuck in the past. Oklahoma has been considered a fly-over state and never a destination for as long as I can remember. In fact, it is probably still considered as such for people who have not taken the time to explore

it. If I am being completely transparent, I was one of those naysayers for most of my time as an undergraduate. My research opened my eyes to a place where life has always been living on the famous red dirt, and a place where progressive thinking creates a foundation in its historical roots.

Place is where the self, space, and time all come together to form an embodied experience for individuals (Feld and Basso 1996). Individuals can then take their experiences and share them with each other, situating a certain place so that it extends past the physical. I want to take Keith Basso and Steven Feld's concept of a "sense of place," combined with contributions by other prominent anthropologists, to encompass what place means for a group of people. Saying a "sense of place" rather than simply "place" takes it away from just the physical manifestation of a structure or state boundaries and brings it into the subjective where everyone's experiences, memories, and emotions all contribute to the meaning of the space. That strong connection to place exists because there is a strong connection between the heart and the mind (Basso 1996). It is creating something unique to the people by using general and localized knowledge of a space or place (Casey 1996). Having a sense of place creates an attachment between the human and the physical world (Basso 1996) where the human can claim a personal investment through memory and/or experience. This attachment is manifested within the individual, and shared among a community to create a sense of place that is situated in the past and present.

The use of the Sunshine Building brings history into the present and adds cultural value to the craft beer industry. The renovation of a building creates a local

connection with those who have been around for years as well as invites newcomers to revel in the history rather than ignore or overlook it. Mathews and Picton (2014) looked into craft breweries and gentrification in London, England and they discovered that history forms an underlying taste of the past in the consumption of craft beer, bringing a distinct place identity to the brew (Mathews and Picton 2014). The beer becomes localized with a taste of history rather than just a drink of the present. Meaning history is important to incorporate into the identity of craft beer so that local consumers can experience a stronger, more familiar connection. The neon sign is iconic to those who have lived in Oklahoma City their entire lives; it has been a representation of home as well as growth because of all that it has beheld throughout the years.

Joel Irby, the owner of Stonecloud, was born and raised in Stillwater, Oklahoma, before he moved to Colorado to continue his education. He spent a little over a decade in Colorado indulging in his passions of climbing and craft beer. But he came back to Oklahoma to build his brewery, because this state is his home, and because the market for craft beer was ripe for movement and transformation. The Sunshine Building was at the point of no hope of restoration and was expected to become a 7/11 store until Joel swooped in to make it a historic landmark. Adding the connection to history allows people to think of the building as something that has persisted throughout the harsh experiences of time. At one point the building was seen as an eyesore occupied by homeless people, an area to avoid; however, now that renovations have occurred, it is a place to which people are drawn.

A place takes on its occupants and creates different and individual realities as it is experienced. One person can walk into Stonecloud and be met with memories and experiences of drinking beer and having community with friends, while another could walk in and feel something completely different. I am sure Joel's sense of place is drastically different than mine when we walk into Stonecloud, but that does not make it any less special to either of us. To Joel, this is the business he built from the remnant of a broken building. It is his life passion where he encompasses craft beer and climbing into one place. Throughout the brewery, climbing gear and photographs can be found. Between the bathrooms is a giant photograph of a cliff, and if you look closely, you can see Joel climbing to the peak. Oklahoma is also his home state, in which he is able to contribute to the economy and be part of the reason Oklahoma is getting much needed attention from outsiders. For me, it is a place that challenged my academic mind with a subject that was completely foreign to me. It is a place where I found a home where I never expected to find one, a place that made Oklahoma not just a state where I completed my schoolwork, but a state that deserves to be recognized. Our different associations about place actually enhance the sense of place that the building suggests; it takes the idea of the Sunshine Building into the universal rather than specifics of Stonecloud, a Laundromat, or a homeless refuge. It is all things in one and home to many.

The iconic laundry sign that sits above Stonecloud, the inspiration for their logo, has sat on the roof of this building for a little under a century and many people from Oklahoma City have become familiar with this sign in the sky. Other people, like me, have only seen this sign for a short period of time, but the relationship we

all feel towards this sign and this building all come together to create a sense of historical pride and appreciation for the transformation of Oklahoma City.

Since statehood, Oklahoma and its laws have been lagging behind other states upon reaching the 21st Century. Bootleggers ran the alcohol scene in Oklahoma in the half-century before prohibition was repealed. Prohibition was adopted when Oklahoma became a state in 1907, but that did not stop people from drinking. Bootleggers would get alcohol from surrounding states, smuggle it into Oklahoma, and distribute to clubs, restaurants, or people (Franklin 1971). Most people turned a blind eye because they were getting their alcohol; however, the laws still stated alcohol was illegal and prohibition was still in the constitution.²

Throughout the years, many legislators tried to repeal prohibition but the “dry” supporters, those who favored the prohibition laws, always won the votes. They wanted to keep alcohol out of the state because they believed it was safer and more responsible; however, bootleggers had a thriving business. The dry supporters kept fighting for a dry state even though alcohol was illegally flowing anyway.

In 1958, Democrat J. Howard Edmondson became the new governor. He wanted to get a vote for the repeal of prohibition and was met with a lot of resistance. He decided to strictly enforce the prohibition laws to show Oklahomans what life would be like without alcohol because up until 1959, alcohol was readily available even if it was illegal. Edmondson’s strict enforcement forced those who supported a dry state to actually live under the rules that they had been fighting for

² Jimmie L. Franklin writes an extensive book, *Born Sober: Prohibition in Oklahoma, 1907-1959*, discussing the years it took to repeal Prohibition.

all this time. His methods worked, and during the vote of April 1959, Oklahomans voted to repeal prohibition.

However, the repeal came with restrictions to appease the conservative and religious groups who fought against repeal for so long. The Alcohol Control Board, later named the Alcohol Beverage Laws Enforcement Commission or ABLE Commission, was established to regulate the sale of alcohol. The law stated that alcohol cannot be sold on Sundays, liquor and other alcohols could only be sold in liquor stores, and the alcohol percentage in beer could not be higher than 3.2 percent. Those who were against the changing of the alcohol laws believed that the convenience of alcohol would lead to drunkenness and mayhem within the state.

The alcohol laws did not change much after the repeal of prohibition in 1959 other than the ability to sell liquor by the drink in the 80s. It was not until Senator Stephanie Bice stepped onto the scene that Oklahoma started to engage in changes to the laws. She was a fresh face in the perfect moment when the laws were ready to be updated. Senator Stephanie Bice ran for office representing District 22, which is considered to be northern Oklahoma County and eastern Canadian County. She ran as a Republican in 2014 as an inspiration to her daughters as well as to get more female voices within the Oklahoma state senate. Red dirt can also refer to the political climate of Oklahoma as a largely red Republican state, and not just the red dirt in which it is known for.

I met Senator Bice at a coffee shop in Oklahoma City in late July 2018. She is a medium height woman with dark eyes and looks you right in the eye when she's

speaking. Her firm handshake as well as a firm voice compliments her small but demanding demeanor, meaning her professionalism demands your respect. We sat outside and she began telling me about her inspiration for the new laws and how she came to be known, by people in the craft beer industry, as “The Face of Oklahoma Craft Beer.”

It began with a Campbell’s commercial in which a woman with her two young children is stocking up for a big winter storm. There is a voice on the intercom saying that there will be an accumulation of snow of about three feet and roads will be shut down indefinitely and schools will be closed. Right as the voice says that schools will be closed, the woman picks up a bottle of red wine and puts it in her basket. Senator Bice saw this and thought, “You can’t do that [in Oklahoma] currently.”

The second influence was from an experience she had while in Arizona for a college football playoff game for her alma mater, Oklahoma State. She and her husband stopped in a brewery with her daughters, who are all under the age of 21, and had lunch together. The brewery had a restaurant attached and she thought to herself how awesome it was to be able to sit around and enjoy a beer while also out with the entire family. She noticed that you could buy cans to-go at this brewery and was really fascinated by it. She realized that Oklahoma was missing out on craft beer, wine, and food festivals because the state didn’t have a framework or infrastructure to support these kinds of events.

Senator Stephanie Bice began wondering what the beer and alcohol laws could look like in the future. Oklahoma was one of five remaining states that still

manufactured and sold low point, or 3.2 percent, beer. She realized that Oklahoma, as a state, consumed more than 50 percent of this low point beer when compared to other states in the country. Senator Bice began considering what would happen if larger corporations like Miller or Coors stopped manufacturing 3.2 percent; then what would Oklahoma do for beer? She knew something needed to be changed. She told me, "I think in a lot of ways I was in the right place at the right time. I was a female Catholic, not afraid of alcohol and a lot of my colleagues who are Baptist don't drink, so it wasn't something they were willing to take on; they were also rural and it's a little bit more of a touchy subject in some of the rural communities, alcohol in general, so that's when I thought, 'well, if we're going to do this then I'm going to have to do this.'"

State Question 792 is where it all began during the spring and summer of 2016. This proposed legislation stated that grocery stores would be able to sell higher percent beer as well as wine. Liquor stores would be able to have refrigeration and could sell other nonalcoholic items in their stores, such as mixers or glassware. This piece of legislation also expanded the hours for liquor stores so that they could open earlier and stay open later. This bill also allowed breweries to control the distribution of their product, allowing them to have more of a hand in how their beer would be treated after it left the brewery, as well as extend the hours breweries could be open. Children would also be allowed to go inside the breweries so that working parents wouldn't need to find a babysitter to go have a beer.

For Senator Stephanie Bice, this is a way to educate people on alcohol because there is a misconception that alcohol leads to drunkenness. She said to me:

In the metropolitan areas, like Oklahoma City and Tulsa, there is a lot of excitement around [the new laws]. There is a perception that we're finally coming into the 21st century. I think our entry of beer and wine in convenient stores is a small tiny piece, but I felt like we needed to put some parameters in place to dip our toe in the water. To show people that the sky is not falling if strong beer and wine are sold in a grocery store. There is this perception that 'oh my gosh you can buy a 7.5 bottle of beer at the grocery store now, this is awful.' In particular in rural communities, they're very sensitive to that idea. They're very religiously conservative, and drinking, in those communities, is not something people do a lot of, or they do it behind closed doors in their homes. I think it is really a shift of culture in how people perceive alcohol. It's not something you do to get drunk; it's something you do to socialize with your friends.

She is insinuating that there is a fear of alcohol because of the idea of drunkenness but also the possibility of corrupting or endangering children. However, there are studies that show that responsible exposure of alcohol to children is beneficial to the ways in which children perceive alcohol at an older age (Frieze, Grube, Moore, & Jennings, 2012).

Senator Bice believes that exposing children to the consumption of alcohol in moderation at a young age will help teach children responsibility when they become older. Alcohol is one of those feared substances that lead to destruction. How did this come to be? Well, in my discussion of the shifting law changes and my interview with Stephanie Bice, you can see a common thread: religion. In the years

before 1959, strong supporters of prohibition were found in multiple church or religious organizations, especially in the protestant church (Franklin 1971). Senator Stephanie Bice mentioned that she was a “Catholic woman” and her colleagues were “Baptists who don’t drink.” The alcohol laws that have been created have all kept the ideologies of some religions in mind. These ideologies say that alcohol or drunkenness lead to sinful behavior or should be avoided in order to uphold the sacred and pure teachings of the gospel. For example, in Galatians 5: 19-21, it reads, “When you follow the desires of your sinful nature, the results are very clear: sexual immorality, impurity, lustful pleasures, idolatry, sorcery, hostility, quarreling, jealousy, outbursts of anger, selfish ambition, dissension, division, envy, drunkenness, wild parties, and other sins like these. Let me tell you again, as I have before, that anyone living that sort of life will not inherit the Kingdom of God.” And in Ephesians 5:18, it reads, “Don’t be drunk with wine, because that will ruin your life. Instead be filled with the Holy Spirit.” These two verses both explain how the Bible portrays alcohol. They both agree that drunkenness distances people from a relationship with God, thus, they will not enter the Kingdom of God, which is the goal for the afterlife.

The entire reason liquor stores aren’t allowed to be open on Sundays is because of Sunday’s correlation with the church as a day of rest. Even under the new law, Sunday hours are still decided by a county-by-county vote in Oklahoma and most counties have voted to keep liquor stores closed on Sundays. Religious ideology has taught throughout the years that alcoholism leads to damnation, which is a huge fear to those who have been taught certain religious ideologies. However,

this way of thinking has relaxed throughout the state. Older generations are making room for young progressive minds that see the world differently, that have been influenced by political and other social events in the country and around the world. Senator Bice is an example of that in comparison to the colleagues she mentioned who are older white men. She shows that religion and alcohol can coexist as something that is not harmful or sinful but as a way to create community with the people around her.

The relationship between Oklahoma and religion has existed, although somewhat under the radar, since the beginning of Oklahoma statehood so it is very much infused in Oklahoman identity (Franklin 1971). The state is located in the heart of the Bible belt, so it is hard not to associate religion with this state. It is not something that is always obvious but it is persistent. You can see the religious influences in the laws and how legislators appeal to religious groups in getting laws to pass, like J. Howard Edmondson did when repealing Prohibition. Religion offers another quality to the sense of place that Oklahomans feel when they are in their state.

Thinking about this, it is interesting to see how the development and movement of Oklahoma City is also incorporating these religious undertones. It seems like the easiest way to move forward is to take a little bit of the past. For example, that is what they did with the laundry sign. It still stands but it is also a social marker for the future. Gentrification is something that has really economically built this city. More than anything, these law changes were about economic development. Allowing the craft beer industry to develop and grow

further calls for the need of more employees to work in taprooms, in production, in distribution, and even in liquor stores to sell the products. I, myself, have benefitted from the law changes, because liquor stores now have more flexibility with their sales, creating opportunities to redefine what a liquor store is; that is how I found my current job. The owners of my liquor store saw the law changes as an opportunity to bring an innovative liquor store, with a coffee shop, cocktail bar, and tapas (little appetizers) all in one place. Nothing like this has ever existed in Oklahoma because of the legal restrictions, and they wanted to be the first to provide it. I have also seen multiple taprooms open throughout my fieldwork and I have seen how the creation of these new jobs has increased interest towards life in Oklahoma City.

Gentrification has also created more interest in Oklahoma City. It no longer sits as a place that is behind other states, but a place where creativity can hold a firm standing and can impact the city. This appeal to old buildings with historical significance adds an enriched cultural history that appeals to both the young and old. Gentrification is restoring, not tearing down, which is a vital part of making a place or a space special to the community. However, gentrification also means that this reforming and redevelopment has an underlying class issue. The Sunshine Building was a home, or a refuge, to homeless people for nearly 30 years before the construction of the brewery began. This building was a safe place for them to lay their heads at night as well as make community with other people in the area. With the construction of the brewery, it forced those homeless people to find sanctuary elsewhere.

I think about the graffiti that still remains on the wall that reads, “Gypsy was here ‘88” and I can’t help but wonder who Gypsy was and where she went (assuming it was a she). Gypsy probably wasn’t still there when construction began, but she’s a representation of those who were, because her presence is still marked. If you look closely at the walls of the taproom, you can still see green and black marks where graffiti, where other people’s words, were painted over. Gentrification is development for those who have the means to move into those new places, but it is displacement for those who were already there. Jeffrey R. Henig uses the statement, “gentrification induced displacement” in his quantitative study of gentrification in cities throughout the United States, where “the poor, minorities, the elderly and the moderate income working class may gradually be squeezed out of their neighborhoods as a result of the social and economic pressures that gentrification sparks” (Henig 1980: 638). Those homeless people and the Sunshine Building they called home were considered an eyesore, so middle and upper class people came in to “make it more desirable.” The problem, however, lies in the fact that homeless people don’t have enough agency to be remembered or noticed as people who are losing their homes. Gentrification lives on as growth while these people have to relocate without a voice in the discussion. This side of gentrification is often overlooked because of how much these new businesses offer to middle and upper class citizens, but this is extremely important not to forget.

The redevelopment of old buildings, such as the Sunshine Building, or even older neighborhoods, creates a connection to the local that indicates a strong pull for people to get involved or support their communities. The support of the local

only benefits the community. Local entrepreneurs are able to invest in the state and yield impact as small business owners. The growth of small businesses allows for the investment in the state to grow exponentially, which is happening right now in Oklahoma. "A rising tide floats all boats," a saying I have heard countless times from multiple people during my fieldwork, represents the benefits of a collaborative effort to expand and grow. Working together to get the laws changed benefits every brewery in the long run. In forming the Craft Beer Association of Oklahoma, CBAO, after the law changes in 2016, it has created a united organization that craft brewers and breweries can all join to stand together as one. This organization puts the needs and concerns of breweries into one place and allows for a strong front when talking to legislators about what is needed for their businesses. They advocate for every brewery and brewer to join the organization because the more voices involved, the more that can be done.

However, this saying is only helpful for the companies that have the means to rise with the tide. If a boat is anchored to the sea floor then the boat will struggle when tides get high, or maybe even sink. The breweries that are affected by the law changes must figure out how to use the laws to further their businesses, which isn't difficult because of how much freedom has been given to breweries.

Since State Question 792 passed in October 2016 and its implementation in October 2018, people are starting to open up more and more breweries so the competition is increasing. However, the competition is not as heavy as you might expect. Local businesses are sharing customers and as of now, according to Joel, "Oklahoma doesn't have the market to steal customers. It's more about taking

business away from the ‘big guys’ and giving it to the ‘little guys.’” The big guys are domestic companies like Coors, and the little guys are the local breweries.

At the Craft Beer Summit in August 2018, there was a panel of five people who discussed the “State of the Brewnion.” They talked about craft beer market share and how the industry was going to have to be a collaborative one instead of competitive to undergo any kind of development. They discussed how using everyone’s vast wealth of knowledge creates more growth, because people learn from others’ mistakes just as much as they learn from their successes. They discussed how the little guys of local businesses have immense power in comparison to the big guys like Coors and Miller, because those big guys get most of their businesses from small towns where no one wants to develop. Small towns do not offer a lot of craft or niche products, so they have to settle for big chain companies like Anheuser-Busch and Walmart.

However, developing the idea of the local allows people to connect more to their small towns, and it creates a desire to see their home grow into an interesting place for others to visit. Local becomes more than just a word or a space. The concept of “local” creates different meanings and relationships depending on people’s concept of what “local” means. It can be experienced through the physical act of tasting (see Chapter Four) as well as mentally through the senses, as it relates to emotion and memory. Local also becomes smaller: where it used to mean statewide, it now means city wide or even specific streets. Those who live in Oklahoma City are more inclined to support businesses that are five minutes away rather than those in Tulsa. In fact, Coop has a beer known as Saturday Siren

referring to the tornado sirens that sound every Saturday at noon (see Chapter Three); however, it turns out that the sounding of those sirens on Saturday is only an Oklahoma City attribute. In Tulsa the tornado sirens actually wail on Wednesdays at 4pm. This makes Saturday Siren hyper-localized and hyper-spatialized to Oklahoma City and more relatable to those who live there as compared to Tulsa. However, that doesn't mean people don't support breweries from different cities at all, but the surface area that "local" covers is becoming smaller.

When someone supports a local business, there is a sense of pride and admiration to it. I know that every time I go back home to Texas and go to a liquor store and see Coop beer in the refrigerators, I feel excited and honored to have met some of the people that work there. I want to see these different breweries grow and develop and make Oklahoma City more than just a dot on the map. As someone who was born and raised in Texas and only moved to this state for academic purposes, I never fully appreciated Oklahoma. I have seen the changes occur and I have seen the life and love that people put into making their businesses a home for their guests. The craft beer movement around the country has a locally oriented conscience and focus. They want to highlight the local rather than the big distributors because craft beer is a craft just like any other. It is a craft made by people who have a passion and want to share it with their community.

This is exactly what my research is about, how a small niche group, such as the craft beer movement, can contribute to Oklahoma identity while utilizing the history of the state and the national pride that Oklahomans feel to create a brand or

product that is special to the people. Keith Basso, in his discussion of place within the context of the Western Apache, writes, “fueled by sentiments of inclusion, belonging, and connectedness to the past, sense of place roots individuals in the social and cultural soils from which they have sprung together, holding them there in the grip of a shared identity, a localized version of selfhood” (Basso 1996:85). In his discussion, Basso writes about place as both individual in which a person must reflect upon themselves to relate to place, as well as communal in which people must transcend themselves and relate to the historical traditions of the community in which they are part of. The craft beer industry uses the different qualities of Oklahoma, such as its relation to the Native American past (see Chapter Three) as well as the prohibition laws and pervasive religious influences to develop a sense of place that is nationally felt.

CHAPTER TWO

CRAFTING COMMUNITY

It's the dead of summer in Oklahoma and I've got my AC blasting as I weave in and out of the cars along the highway. I vastly underestimated the time it would take to drive from Norman to Oklahoma City, and the stress of trying to beat the clock doesn't help with the accumulating sweat on my upper lip. It's only a few short turns after my exit to the large warehouse building known as Anthem Brewing. I park my car and notice two entrances: one is a door with a long ramp leading up to it, and the second is a giant gaping hole in the middle of the building where a garage door should sit.

I make the decision to use the door because the guests who pulled in before me also used the door and I honestly just don't want to make a fool of myself by using the wrong entrance. Inside I wipe the sweat from my lip, tousle my hair, and take a deep breath as I walk into the brewery. I'm immediately struck by the sight of large metal tanks arranged in rows at the far end of the brewery. In front of those are five long wooden high-top tables with barstools lining the edges. To the left is the large garage door opening with the sun shining through, illuminating the entire place and making the metal tanks glow and sparkle in the light.

I turn right, making my way towards the bar. Every seat is occupied and the bartenders are busy pouring from the array of taps on the wall. A tall skinny man with dark brown buzzed hair looks at me and asks for my ID. I hand it to him and

say, "I'm looking for Patrick Lively. Is he here?" He hands me back my license and points to the opposite corner of the brewery. "He's over there."

I turn my head and at the far table closest to the garage door opening are three men, isolated from the crowds of people, sitting with beers in their hands. I say thank you over my shoulder and walk towards the group of laughing men.

"Hi, my name's Lolly. I'm supposed to be meeting with Patrick?" I ask as I approach.

"That's me. You're the one I stood up the other day?" A very large man stands up on the other side of the table, making the back of my head touch the nape of my neck when I look up at him. He's got long blonde hair that reaches the shoulders of his green shirt and a belly that extends further out than the rest of his body. He extends his right hand to shake mine. As my hand meets his, it's completely consumed by his fingers.

I grab the empty seat that is directly across from them, and the guy who's sitting next to Patrick lifts his hand in a small wave. "I'm Steve." I look at him and notice a dark brown beard and striking blue eyes. The third guy doesn't introduce himself, just nods in my direction. He has a narrow face with a black beard that extends to the top of his chest and black wavy hair that reaches his shoulders. Patrick vaguely explains my research intentions to the two of them as they nod in understanding.

"Would you like a beer?" Patrick asks me.

I feel my stomach growl as it yells at me to feed it because I'm way past due. If I have a beer now then there's a high possibility that I will get a little tipsy,

meaning my head will be clouded and I won't be able to ask the questions I want, and it might put my driving skills at risk later.

"No I'm all right. I haven't eaten today so that might be a bad idea. Thank you, though!" I smile at him. He nods and goes to get himself a beer.

As I situate myself in my chair, the man who hadn't introduced himself to me leans over and says, "You know, if you want to do research at a brewery it's probably a good idea to actually drink the beer that they make."

I can feel my cheeks begin to burn. "Oh no, it's not that I don't want to I just haven't eaten today and I'm trying to be responsible because I have to drive back to Norman."

"No, I understand. We have some food, I think granola bars or something, if you want some."

I nod, probably a little too fast. "That would be awesome, thank you!" He gets up and disappears behind me. I can feel sweat forming under my arms and my face feels like it's burning red. My first engagement into the craft beer community and I don't drink their beer. Note to self: eat before meeting anyone at a brewery.

Patrick returns with a pint size glass of beer and takes a big sip as he sits down in front of me. I'm still flustered, but Patrick doesn't notice so he begins asking me questions about my research. I tell him my intentions and my curiosities about the craft beer community especially in light of the impending law changes, and how they incorporate Oklahoma identity within the movement. I tell him that more than anything I desire to learn things about craft beer and the people who take

part in this community that I've never known before. The long-bearded guy comes back with my granola bar and my face flushes again. "Thank you."

Patrick tells me about Anthem and how he got started in the industry himself. He even talks about his dad a little bit. Steve and Patrick sometimes riff off each other about different styles of beer they both like, and which breweries, both locally and nationally, create those beer styles well. They turn the question to me and in my flustered state I respond with the only beer that came to my mind. "I'm actually really into sour beers right now. Do you guys make those here?" Patrick looks at me as though he's surprised by my answer.

"I tried one for the first time a few months ago and they have this taste that keeps me thinking about them. I just really like them right now," I say truthfully, and also a little to justify myself.

Steve notices that I've finished eating my granola bar so he asks me again, "How about now, would you like a beer?" as he points to my crumpled wrapper.

Not making the same mistake twice, I say, "Yeah I'd love to try one."

Patrick perks up. "Great! What can I get for you? I need a refill myself." He tilts his empty glass towards me.

"Uhhh, surprise me?" I say because I don't know what beers they have on tap right now.

"Hmm, okay, be back in a sec." He wiggles out of his chair and struts towards the bar again.

I don't make eye contact with the long bearded guy because I know my embarrassment is written all over my face and I don't want it validated. Patrick

comes back just in time for the silence to feel normal instead of awkward. “Here, try this and tell me what you think.” I grab the short round glass and hold it in the air. It’s got a brown-yellow haziness to it and my curiosity is piqued. I lift the glass to my lips and I’m immediately struck with the taste of bourbon. As it flows down my throat, another taste lingers on my tongue. It’s a fruit of some sort, but I can’t quite make it out.

The guys are all looking at me as if to say, “well, what do you think?” So I take another sip to make sure my taste buds hadn’t deceived me. Yup, bourbon and fruit, maybe pear or apple?

“There’s definitely bourbon in there. It’s got a super interesting taste. What is it?” I look at Patrick for the answer.

“Good job! It’s a bourbon barrel aged style ale. Do you like it?”

With complete honesty I respond, “Yeah, I actually really do.”

“Awesome, I’m so glad you tried a beer.” He has a giant smile plastered on his face.

My cheeks feel rosy again. I shake the image and continue speaking with Patrick, Ben, and the bearded man about the community and beer for another 30 minutes while I slowly sip the beverage in front of me.

I notice the sun has gone down and the brewery is no longer loud with different voices. Patrick is the first one to stand up. “Well, I’ve got an early morning brew tomorrow so I think I’m going to head out, if that’s okay?”

“Absolutely. I need to head back to Norman anyway,” I say as I stand up to face the giant man in front of me. We exchange our goodbyes as I head towards the

open garage door. I feel a tad light-headed and my stomach growls on command, note to self: eat before meeting someone at a brewery. My face flushes once more before I shake the experience out of my head for the rest of the evening.

Typically an introduction into a job begins with an interview where the interviewee proves his or her worth to his or her interviewer as well as his or her possible contribution to the company. The interviewer will then refer to the references on the resume as well as ask varying questions to get to know the interviewee and their character as much as possible. Then a second interview might be called depending on how that first one went. Through this entire process, the interviewer trusts the potential employee in his or her skills and knowledge and a working relationship will begin under this rapport. However, my entrance into this craft beer community was radically different than most because of my research interests.

Joel was the third person I spoke with in my search for an entrance to the craft beer community. I walked into Stonecloud Brewing Co. for the second time; the first was a couple months before, just as a regular customer, in the middle of April 2018. This time, it was actually quite crowded with a line of about five people in front of the cash register and a person sitting in every seat at the bar. The taproom was full of windows, allowing natural light to illuminate the bar. There were two high-top tables in the middle with eight chairs surrounding them and small tables that lined with a bench to the left. I asked the flustered bartender at the register where I could find Joel, and he pointed me toward the direction of a man

sitting at one of the tables. He was typing at a laptop with multiple Stonecloud stickers on the cover. Joel stood up to greet me when I walked to his table. He firmly shook my hand and smiled warmly at me. His dark brown semi curly hair somewhat reminded me of the cartoon character from Wreck It, Ralph, Fix It Felix Jr.

As I sat down across the table I noticed a half empty glass of beer in front of him. Before he sat, he asked, "Would you like a beer?" Thinking about the bearded man from Anthem, I replied, "I would love one, thank you." He asked what kind of beer I'd like, and since I was unfamiliar with the beer menu I responded with a sour. He nodded his head and came back with two different beers, and sat them in front of me. Now, I was aware that I had to get a beer from the brewery, but what was I supposed to do with two? Was I supposed to drink one and then the other or alternate which one I drink from? Good thing I ate before I went that time.

As Joel and I talked, I asked him questions about his brewery and about him. He told me about his life, born in Stillwater, Oklahoma, and then moving to Colorado for college, and staying there for nearly 13 years exploring his two loves of climbing and craft beer. He said that he wanted to come back and open a brewery in his home state like the ones he worked at in Colorado. He said that with the laws changing it was a perfect opportunity to get things rolling and create something that didn't really exist in Oklahoma. He spoke with conviction and excitement and always held eye contact. He was so invested in this place that I wanted to be part of it as well.

I told him about my research and my desire to spend the summer hanging out, helping out, and asking a thousand questions. I wanted to discover what

identity meant in Oklahoma using the craft beer movement. However, at the time I didn't know where my research would go, so I left it as a broad question so I could be open to anything that came my way. Joel was skeptical about exactly just how much I'd be distracting everyone with my questions, but I reassured him that my purpose is to participate as well as observe. I would help with anything they possibly needed and I would give them space when they asked; I just wanted to be involved. He agreed to let me conduct my research, and I left the brewery extremely excited for the summer.

However, my role and title as a researcher was beneficial in getting me "in" but held me back from getting into the personal and specifics; that, I had to build on my own through work and devotion. Those first few weeks of fieldwork are always awkward; you are navigating meeting every single person while trying to remember names. You also have to be flexible in relating to the people around you, some are more open than others, and you have to find your footing before you can really dive into the research. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz experienced this feeling when he wrote about Balinese cockfights. His opening few pages are about the distance at which the villagers kept him and his wife. They weren't trusted and therefore weren't desired conversational companions (Geertz 1972). These first few weeks, however, are interesting for navigating your own position within the field—how you want to present yourself and how others perceive you. As Jayati Lal puts it, "in the actual practice of research... one is faced with the need to constantly negotiate *between* the positions of insider and outsider, rather than being fixedly assigned one or the other subject position" (Lal 1996:193).

Here I was, a young twenty-something female immersing herself in a business dominated by males, and one in which I was very unfamiliar. As I have previously stated, I had no prior knowledge of craft beer, but I enjoyed the community aspect that came with drinking. I didn't know the brewing process, either, and as someone born and raised in Texas, I hadn't devoted much time to fully appreciate Oklahoma in general. However, I grew up in a middle-class home and had access to a lot of opportunities to find myself studying at university out of state. Most of the people who make up the craft beer industry are all roughly middle-class with about the same education level as me. In navigating my ethnographic self, I had to realize both the similarities and differences between those I was observing and myself. I realized it was more about knowledge of a niche topic rather than other social factors, like education or age, which was creating those differences. In relation to what Lal wrote, I had to use those differences in knowledge of craft beer to be a conscientious learner, while using my skills as an ethnographer to understand the people in my research and how to interact with them. So my initial identity as a participant observer in this field was as someone who was clueless but absolutely curious about any and everything. I situated myself as someone ready to consume any knowledge that comes my way, rather than a know-it-all academic. I put myself in positions where I could experience all different kinds of interactions, going to events, meetings, brews, and to the bar during open hours, because you never know what will be important when it comes time to write.

Some people were accepting and open to conversations and just as curious about me as I was about them. Others were more skeptical. When people hear the

title “researcher,” they often thought they were going to be exploited or exposed when it came time for me to write. My note-taking often made people paranoid and they would say to me, “You’re writing all of our dirty laundry, aren’t you? The whole world is going to know about us now.” Although these types of comments would be said jokingly, I always felt there was some genuine concern in them. “Researcher” often comes with preconceived notions of someone who is very professional and doesn’t try to understand his or her subjects, as someone who just wants facts and results and does not take much time to invest the subjects behind the work. I, then, had to incorporate the identity of a harmless, clueless, and curious researcher. I found myself spending most days getting people to trust me rather than asking questions because I needed that trust before I could get answers.

It wasn’t until late July, a month and half into my research, that I came to the realization of what was going on. Fieldwork is uncomfortable for everyone in the beginning, but after grasping a gauge of the different personalities in the brewery-- Alvie as someone who can come up with the most random conversation topic out of nowhere, Joel as the diligent worker but incredible boss, Patrick as an entertaining companion, and Nate as the reserved but honorable brewer, I discovered the best opportunities to talk to them without being too much of a distraction. I spoke with Alvie and Patrick while doing production activities like canning, labeling, and bottling. We would spend multiple hours performing these repeated actions of grabbing a bottle or can and packaging them into 6-pack or 12-pack cases. Bottling is a human machine line where one person grabs the empty bottles, purges them with CO₂ (forcing all of the oxygen out) and fills them with the beer. The next

person puts a cork in it and the last person cleans and packs it into cases. During these times, there is nothing much to do but talk and get to know each other.

The best time to talk with Joel is while he's sitting up front in the taproom answering emails; that's when he doesn't mind being distracted. Nate is constantly moving, so the best time to get to know him is during the early morning hours of brewing. There are limited distractions then, and it is a really cool time to watch him in the act and see him light up when a brew goes right or get frustrated when things aren't working according to plan. Watching someone do what they love can tell you more about a person than their actual words. However, through getting to know them, I somehow didn't fully have their trust, and it was not until the week of the Anniversary Party that I finally got it.

The back of the brewery runs like a well-oiled machine; every single person has their job to do, and they do it. Alvie and Patrick were both cleaning empty kegs and filling them with the new beer. Joel was walking back and forth through the brewery on the phone and trying to make sure everything was in order. Nate was in the brewhouse writing on a clipboard and monitoring his brew. This was where I often found myself the most out of place, because I didn't actually work there, I didn't have a set job to do every single day. On the week of Stonecloud's first anniversary party, there was a feeling of excited chaos in the air. The music seemed louder and everyone was running around trying to get everything done that needed doing. With my experience of labeling bottles, I decided to head where the crate of bottles still lay to be labeled for the weekend. This wasn't a day for talking but a day for working.

They named the beer Orbit One, signifying Stonecloud's first trip around the sun, and their first year as a fully operating brewery. It was a Maple Bourbon Barrel-Aged Imperial Stout and the label had a space theme with a removable patch on the front, so labeling these required the sticker and then the patch added second. After figuring out how to work the labeling machine, I got busy. I had my own task and focused on completing it. I grabbed the beer-filled bottles, ran them through the labeling machine, smoothed out any creases, and applied the removable patch. After they looked presentable, I would put them in boxes in groups of twelve, and after about thirty or so bottles, Adrienne joined me. We talked and laughed about nothing in particular until we had completely finished labeling all the bottles. This was the first time I realized that participant observation didn't always mean I had to observe; sometimes I just needed to participate. This often gets overlooked during discussions of methods in ethnographic fieldwork. We talk about what participant observation is and how we must be flexible while in the field, however what is not discussed is those times where you do not necessarily need to learn something, you just need to do something. To get the information we need to write ethnography, we need the trust of our participants because otherwise we only get surface level communication and information. Trust is not earned because of an academic title; trust is earned through mutual respect and understanding of another person.

The next week at the brewery, something was different. I started to see sides of the guys that I hadn't been exposed to before. I realized that the guys would usually shotgun a beer, a specific way of chugging a beer through a hole in the bottom of the can, after canning a new beer but they'd stopped since I started my

research. They were beginning to trust me more and more. Maybe it was because I could contribute as well as do my work or that they trusted me to not exploit them during my writing process. I began to develop a new identity within my research as a friend and not just a researcher. During fieldwork, especially with participant observation, the researcher constantly has to adjust and adapt his or her identity based on the social, economic, or political status of the field. My newfound identity got me thinking about the boundaries that require someone to be included or rejected from working within the craft beer industry. How is someone deemed “right” for a position within the brewery and what makes someone more of a “fit” than someone else? What are the practices that are recognizable and desired? I looked into the interview processes to unpack my questions.

Moose, Joel’s dog, greets the interviewee at the door with a sniff, acting as a first round interviewer. Once the interviewee has passed the first test then Joel and Nate greet him with a smile and a shake of the hand.

Joel asks, “Would you like a beer?”

“Uhhh,” the interviewee looks at the taps and back to the guys. “I think I’m alright, but thank you, though.”

Joel nods his head once and sits back down to begin the questioning. He asks basic questions, like “Why are you interested in this position?” and “Why Stonecloud, and have you had experience with us or any other local brewery?” Most of Joel’s questions are to get a gauge of the interviewee’s knowledge of the craft beer community. Joel then asks technical questions like whether or not he has

experience with heavy machinery, and all the while Nate sits next to him in silence but never breaking eye contact.

When Nate begins his questioning, he takes a different approach. He begins by asking whether or not the interviewee has ever had one of their beers, and if so, what would he do differently to that beer. Unfortunately, the interviewee has never tried one of their beers, so he can't give an answer to this question. The disappointment on Nate's face is quite evident, but only for a split second, until he changes the subject.

Nate then asks what style of beer the interviewee normally likes; what are some of the most recent beers he's tried and how he liked those. The interviewee gives a brief but satisfactory answer and Nate switches gears again, "So in the back, things are unpredictable, and there is room for a lot of things to go wrong. How do you normally handle frustration and unexpected circumstances?"

I chuckle to myself as I think about the hot lava party that happened a couple weeks ago. Nate was in the middle of a brew and I had come for observations that day. However, the water didn't drain very well from the grain, which left a lot of scalding hot excess amounts of sugar water and grain, rather than mostly dry grain. All Nate could do was open the side door of the tank, empty it into a large crate, and hope for the best. The grain and sugar water mixture flowed out of the tank like a rushing waterfall, or lava flowing from a volcano, and overflowed the crate, and spilled all over the floor of the brewery. It was frustrating and quite annoying but I couldn't help but laugh at the entire scene. Everyone just stood there as we just watched the mess grow larger, knowing there was nothing we could do to stop it.

Once the lava quit flowing, Nate, Joel, Alvie and I each picked our cleaning weapon and went in to clean up the mess.

The interviewee gives an answer that seems to satisfy Nate, and Joel suggests they go into the back for a tour of the brewery. I don't follow but stay in the taproom to write. About 20 minutes later the three guys emerge from the back. Nate and Joel say their goodbyes as the interviewee walks out the door. They both refill their beers and come sit back down to talk about the interview.

"He was nice, really professional. I liked him," Joel says after a sip of beer.

"Yeah he was cool. But, man, I really like the dynamic we have back there and I just don't know. I mean, who goes for an interview at a brewery and doesn't have a beer?" Nate says.

And then I see him, the narrow-faced long bearded guy from Anthem that I had tried so hard to forget. His face etched in my memory and my cheeks redden with the thought. Grabbing a beer really is *that* important. There is a lot of knowledge that can be gathered through this simple question. Nate and Joel are brewers, so when someone grabs a beer, which beer an interviewee grabs tells them something, as well as how they drink it and how they describe it. There are nonverbal indications of how knowledgeable someone is in the field of craft beer. Do they smell it first or do they just take a sip? Do they taste it with their full mouth or just let the drink slip down their throat? For brewers, it is interesting to listen to how someone comments on their beer, which is why Nate asks if there is anything the interviewee would change about the beers on tap.

As my time within the industry has grown, I have been acutely aware of this question of whether or not someone wants a beer because of the experiences I have had with this question. It is almost the first question someone asks immediately upon meeting. The answer to this question, depending on the person who is asking, reveals something about the person who is answering. Different roles within the industry will gauge different things depending on the answer. Adrienne, for instance, is the woman who created the taproom staff at Stonecloud and when I asked if she asked people if they want a beer before an interview she said, “Every time. It is a good gauge. Depends what they order, how much they drink, time of day, it can be a talking point or get a conversation going. Lots to be learned from that gesture.” It is not necessarily a test of judgment, there is no wrong or right answer to which beer one chooses to get; it is something to talk about, because beer is quite literally the center focus of a brewery, and it is everything people talk about there. However, it depends on the situation in which one is getting the beer.

For Adrienne, it is about judging the “vibe” of the person in front of her by the way they speak about the beer, how fluid they are in speech, or if they are nervous and choppy. To her, “vibe” is a character description that she can intuitively sense upon meeting. She wants someone who can be relatable and get along with anyone, not someone who makes the customers uncomfortable. She also wants someone who gets along with her and the other employees. When she was looking for people to hire, she did not want career bartenders because, to her, career bartenders are already trained in their ways.

I asked the same question of Colton, the present taproom manager, inquiring whether or not he asked if the person he is interviewing wanted a beer. He responded, "Yup! Not only do I think it's a good intro to see what they like, but I can also use that as a tool when I ask beer questions. I can ask them to describe the beer they're drinking."

As a taproom manager, he wants to hire bartenders that know how to describe a beer or to see if they can at all. It is not a necessary trait to have because it can always be learned. It is just to see how much someone knows. It is not about what someone says, but how he or she presents his or herself when they are speaking. Nate said that he liked the dynamic of the people in the back, and it is important for him to have people on his team who work well together. Adrienne focuses on her intuitive sense of vibe, while Colton once told me, "Everyone gets along so well and I want to hire somebody who will fit into that as well."

"So you're basically trying to hire a new friend?" I said in response.

"Yeah, I suppose so," he said.

They want to keep their tight knit-family tight. This makes it harder for someone on the outside without any connections on the inside to get hired. The outsider does not have rapport and therefore has to win over their interviewer with the way they present themselves in an interview that lasts an hour. When Adrienne was creating the taproom staff a little over a year ago, she was building on nothing. She wanted to utilize people with a wide range of knowledge, from beer nerds to microbiology professors, and physical therapists. She was creating a taproom from

scratch and wanted a well-rounded group to make it a “family.” She said she wanted to “create a culture and not a hierarchy.”

In creating this culture within Stonecloud as a smaller representation of the craft beer culture, how can the interviewer tell that a certain person will “fit in?” In practice, each interviewer and interviewee is using the concept of social identity. The theory of social identity takes an individual's concept of the self and uses it to project onto the perceived identity of a group or organization (Tajfel & Turner 1979). This means that the person who is being interviewed already has a preconceived idea of the identity within the brewery and believes that his or her personal identity reflects the same values. However, as the interviewer, he or she must gauge the group identity that he or she is already familiar with, and gauge the interviewee and how that person will interact and behave with the other members of the group.

Colton relies on a second interview to really gauge the personality of a potential hire. Someone might get along really well with him but not the second interviewer, so who decides the interviewee's fate? It is partially based on gut and partially based on the collective knowledge of all those who have already been hired. This is why it is easier for someone who already knows someone on the inside to get a job; there is a third character reference that is based on multiple years/months/days of the interviewee's personality, placing newcomers at a disadvantage. Emory S. Daniel, Jr., who has done extensive research on craft beer culture, suggests that a strong connection between a potential employer and the organization is the love for craft beer (2017), but I believe there is more to it. I think

of the love for craft beer as a beginning stage, because it is extremely important but if personalities collide then it does not matter anymore. If coworkers have tension then that tension will spread to others, creating a hostile environment, so gauging a personality that will resonate with the people already in the organization is fundamental. The interviewer is trying to find a friend in a stranger in 60 minutes. There is a level of exclusivity that leaves people feeling as though they are always just a little bit on the outside until they can be let into the “family.”

The term “family” is complicated because it suggests a bond that was not created by choice. A family is created through ties of blood and obligation, so it would be more appropriate to call it a workplace family. However, a workplace family suggests that someone will always be part of it no matter what, and that may be the case when someone quits, but if someone is fired then those familial ties are cut. Adrienne said she wanted to “create a culture not a hierarchy,” but even in a family, there will always be hierarchy. Children are given free range to explore, and create, and innovate; however they will need parent’s approval to go forward. In this instance Joel is in the parent role, in that everyone goes to him for approval.

There are also sets of rules and practices within the workplace, and if they are not followed a worker will be removed from the family. If it truly was a family then someone could not be taken out easily, and someone could not be accepted in as easily either. There are certain practices that must be followed to continue to be part of the family.

Practice theory outlines that a social being, with varying motives and intentions, can influence and transform the world in which they live. People are

influenced by social structure just as much as they influence social structure. Often the analysis in practice theory is informed by social class stratifications, however, while hiring and managing the boundaries of those who find themselves in the craft beer movement, I am looking to understand the identity that is constructed through practice.

Anthropologist Rita Astuti describes this perfectly in her study of the Vezo who are people that live on the west coast of Madagascar. The Vezo are a group of people who become what they are through what they do. Their identity is based fully on action in the present, rather than a common origin (Astuti 1995). This work is important to the concept of identity because it completely deconstructs the normal identity theory based on ethnic origins. Astuti states that identity is more of an “activity rather than a state of being” (1995: 466). For the Vezo, the performance of certain activities does not constitute a Vezo person in its physical manifestations but rather it constitutes the experience of being a Vezo (Astuti 1995). She does not make blanket statements about the Vezo as a “kind of people” but uses the quality of “Vezo-ness” to describe them. “Vezo-ness is not ‘instilled’ or ‘infused’ in the person; it is better thought of as a shape that people take—a shape that nonetheless never hardens” (Astuti 1995: 472). Astuti’s description of Vezo-ness describes how one can develop the skills to achieve a certain status. Similarly, when my position in my research shifted to where I was able to have a more intimate knowledge of the people working at Stonecloud, I learned to be a worker in their well-oiled machine.

Performance within the craft beer industry displays a level of knowledge acquired over time. According to Wes Flack, “the beer that a person drinks has

become a [social] marker or symbol of self-definition” (1997:46). In the case of interviews at the breweries, the beer that the interviewee chooses is the first glimpse the interviewers get into their knowledge of beer. So, I would argue that the beer someone drinks also becomes a social marker for others to identify that person as well.

It is not just about the beer someone drinks either, there are certain practices of work and devotion that also suggests someone would be a better “fit” within the community. One must have an intense desire to learn as well as to teach, which is why Adrienne chose not to hire career bartenders for her taproom. She wanted to teach the practices of a beer connoisseur, the ways to express beers with words, how to drink a beer, and how to recommend beers to those who don’t have much knowledge. By engaging in the practices and actions of those who have been enveloped in the culture, you start to structure your actions in relation to the culture. However, you change the structure as you engage in it because you add something to the mix that was not there before. So, an individual is constantly engaging “in a process of social positioning via a display of his/her knowledge and actions” (Mathews and Picton 2014: 340) of craft beer.

So “fitting in” and getting along with others in the business is more about how someone can engage in the regular practices of those within the industry, as well as how they can push the industry to grow through their unique experiences with craft beer, a lesson I had to learn during the early weeks of my research. This incorporates both Bourdieu’s idea of habitus (2015), by taking someone’s individual knowledge and understanding of where they sit in the social world, and Ortner’s

concept of people shaping the social world just as much as the social world shapes them (2006). Someone in the craft beer industry embodies the practices and uses outside knowledge to help transform and grow the community for people who love craft beer.

CHAPTER THREE

HOPSPLAINING

I walk the aisles of a liquor store in Oklahoma City and see the array of bottles and cans that display different beers from around the country. Each label is vibrant in color, just screaming to be chosen from the bunch. I find myself gravitating towards the section with a large sign that reads, “Local Brews,” probably a little out of bias, just as anyone who feels connected to the local would. In front of me are rows and rows of beer cans and bottles that express the unique personalities of each brewery in Oklahoma.

I see the cans of Coop Ale Works with their vibrant colors bordered with a black trim on the bottom and top of each can. I have a flashback to meeting Sean Mossman, the marketing and sales representative for the brewery, on a hot August morning. He lined all of their cans in front of me and expounded upon the minute details of each can and their meanings, every single one of them relating to Oklahoma in some way. There’s F5, a bright green can with a tornado causing destruction while a Doppler radar creates a frame. In the description, the label reads, “F5 is a belligerent hop reckoning.” Next to F5 is Saturday Siren; it’s a sky blue label with a depiction of yellow speakers lined up on a pole and sound waves radiating from the speakers. Oklahoma is right in the heart of Tornado Alley, and every spring thousands of Oklahoma residents risk losing everything when one of these storms brews in the sky. For this reason, Oklahoma City sounds its tornado

sirens every Saturday at 12pm. Saturday Siren is an ode to that ringing that every Oklahoma resident has become so accustomed to.

The third can that catches my eye from Coop is a blood red label with a vague depiction of a Native American shooting a bow and arrow while an eagle spreads its wings in flight at the top; Native Amber. I hear Sean's voice in my head as he described the countless meetings he had with Native American leaders around Oklahoma to find the perfect name for this beer. He told me how they wanted to express the Native American history of Oklahoma but wanted to find the perfect name and design as to not cause offense for any community.

My eyes fall to the brewery of five best friends. Unconsciously I realize I am smiling and remembering the guys I met while at Vanessa House Brewing. I see the orange rim of a bottle of 401k Cream Ale with their bright green Vanessa House logo in the center. Under the beer name reads, "Refreshing, Crushable, Smooth." On the back is the description behind the name. The 401K Cream Ale is an ode to living with no regrets and giving everything you have to a dream, because that's exactly what they did. They gave up their retirement funds to make delicious brews for the community.

Garage Fire Pale Ale is the next in line on the shelf, rimmed in red with the Vanessa House logo in the center. Under Garage Fire are the words "Floral, Balanced, Bready." I turn the can over to read the description. Garage Fire sparks a memory for the guys when home brewing was their life and they had very little knowledge of what exactly they were doing. They ignited a fire and almost burned

down their entire garage, which made them more conscious of safety as well as opened their eyes to insurance policy premiums.

Then there it is, the brewery I have come to know so well, Stonecloud. The aluminum shine of Astrodog, Neon Sunshine, as well as the matte face of Havana Affair, these cans hold different stories in the art of their labels. Astrodog is a climb in Colorado where you have to repel down a steep cliff to climb back up it. A couple of climbers found the bones of a poodle that was said to be a tourist's dog who barked its way off the cliff, so they named the dog Astrodog. Neon Sunshine depicts the story of how the sun gets charged everyday by electric eels from the ocean. The Havana Affair label shows the Oklahoma City skyline with a flying dinosaur with laser eyes terrorizing the sky. This dinosaur can actually be found in one of the bathrooms of the brewery.

In the aisles of the liquor store I can't help but think about all of the breweries I've encountered throughout my research. They're all so different from one another and their identities are expressed in everything they do. Coop exemplifies their Oklahoma roots with pride. When people think of Oklahoma they often think of tornado alley, Native Americans, and the Bible belt. F5 and Saturday Siren show the world how much the weather influences the Oklahoma state of mind. Tornado season brings excitement and fear because destruction has happened more than they would like and sometimes you just need a beer in the midst of destruction.

Native Amber pays tribute to the era of pre-colonization. They acknowledge that Native Americans once claimed this territory and realize the importance of their influence as the state continues to grow. However, in using Native Amber as

an advertising tool of the Native American past, they are also appropriating Native American culture. First, the use of the color amber for a red IPA suggests the term “redskins” which is highly offensive because it is a description of skin tone that refers to Native Americans and has historically been used in derogatory ways. Second, the fact that these “Native leaders” that Sean met with all came up with a label and name that didn’t cause offense is rather difficult to believe. This label is homogenizing of Native Americans and doesn’t depict the diversity of cultures of the different groups in Oklahoma.

Native Amber is an example of Bourdieu’s symbolic power (1991) where this label actually shows the representation of class rather than the truth of Native American life. In *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*, Jean M O’Brien writes about Indian cultures in New England cities. The non-Native citizens completely ignore the fact that Indians first occupied land in New England and represent them as extinct or as people of the past. The New Englanders have rewritten history according to their European-American perspective and have misrepresented the native cultures that have gone before them (O’Brien 2010). This is similar to what Coop has done with Native Amber and with their failure to recognize the full past of colonization, they inadvertently display the white man’s symbolic power of forgetting the “bad stuff” of the past but remembering the important cultural heritage to the state.

I have mentioned the displacement of homeless people in regards to gentrification (Chapter One); however, colonization also displaced the Native Americans who lived in Oklahoma territory. Coop’s label of Native Amber is a

representation of their image of Native Americans, ignoring the displacement and genocide that occurred. Coop is not alone in using Native American images in their advertising, however. Products like Land O'Lakes and American Spirits use Native American imagery that has little to nothing to do with actual Native American lives. These companies are targeting non-Natives and using stereotypes of American Indian culture to appeal to the public (O'Barr 2013). The images are often offensive to the parties that these companies are trying to represent. So Coop's use of Native American culture as a representation of Oklahoma's ties to the Native past is extremely problematic when analyzing it further than a few meetings with Native leaders and their approval. This label actually inadvertently invokes another stereotype that associates Native Americans and alcoholism, a stereotype that has been used for many years and suggests that the displacement of people from their land led to alcoholism, and also suggests social hierarchies between the colonizers and colonized. I do recognize that Coop most likely did not mean to invoke these appropriating representations of Native culture; however, it is too important to Oklahoma history to ignore.

Another label that I haven't mentioned by Coop is Spare Rib. It can only be found in the taproom or select liquor stores but it is a black and white label with two skeletons on the front. One is depicted as a male, with a baseball cap being the defining marker, and the other is female, because of a bow that sits on her head, eyelashes coming from the holes in her skull, and full lips on her skeletal face. The cheekbones of each skeleton are also different. The male has a more angular shape to his cheeks whereas the female cheekbones are rounded and angled upwards.

However, an even closer look reveals a biblical reference. The male skeleton has the numbers 2:22 on his baseball cap and he's holding one of his ribs whereas the woman is holding an apple in her hand. The 2:22 refers to Genesis 2:22: "Then the LORD God made a woman from the rib he had taken out of the man, and he brought her to the man." This suggests that the two skeletons are Adam and Eve, which is why the woman is holding the apple because, according to the Bible, Eve took a bite from the forbidden fruit, causing sin to enter the world. This invokes a biblical chronotope where the time of the first sin still warns of the serpent and temptation in the present. A chronotope morphs space and time in the mind of the reader, which allows instances in the past to be just as relevant in the present space (Bakhtin 1981). Biblical chronotopes are familiar in the state of Oklahoma. Coop is less about the individuals of the brewery and more about the broader spectrum of Oklahoma culture.

Vanessa House approaches their identity differently, where they choose to exemplify the relationship between the friends and their unique experiences rather than something more universal or relatable. Their labels bring the consumer into a secret world or an exclusive club because they reveal a personal or fun story. When I read the labels I can always hear in my head the voice of Andrew, one of the owners, telling me the story. The description is written in a way that is casual and fun but also gives revealing descriptions of the beer itself. Here is the description they wrote for Broken Tile, a double IPA:

Vanessa House Beer Company is excited to offer **The Broken Tile Double IPA** year round. This New England Style DIPA delivers big on aroma with notes of pineapple,

citrus, and grapefruit. All thanks to mosaic and citra hops. It is an unfiltered DIPa that sits soft on your palate and drinks smooth.

Like always this beer gets its a name from a good story. Did you ever have a roommate who destroys common property and won't cop to it? Yeah, us too. He made the mistake of mixing wine, emotional distress and a bath. The result was several broken tiles and ten years of denials. Take our advice and just stick to a shower beer after a long day. #weknowwhatyoudid

This description reveals a few things. First, it tells us that this beer can be experienced all year; every time someone visits the taproom the beer is available to drink. Second, it tells us what the beer actually is, a New England style double IPA. They include the strand of hops they used as well as the other citrus adjuncts that create the taste, which invokes the idea that people can “taste their words” because they are quite literally telling them what to look for in the drink. Third, they tell us the sensory details of what we taste. It is soft on our palate and drinks smooth, giving us a preconceived notion of what to expect. Fourth, we get the story behind the name where we get an inside look at the owners of the company. Finally, they have engagement with their consumers and create a hashtag, which can be used on social media to make their beer drinking experience more immersive. It is also a clever marketing tactic.

However, the stories that they tell to their customers are what make the Vanessa House guys different in the craft beer market in Oklahoma; they give themselves to their consumers. The names of their beers invoke what linguist Edward Sapir called “condensation symbolism,” where they tell an entire story with a label (Sapir 1985). They create an environment of friendship because they let

their consumers in on what the story actually is and offer a gateway into conversation to find out the full context. This makes their place feel more like home to the people that drink their beer. They display a different kind of Oklahoma pride where people want to support their friends and neighbors in their local business. Having a face and a name to a brewery makes it easier to relate to, and since Vanessa House was built from a home the guys all shared, they are hitting their market. Their taproom is even designed to feel like a living room, to make it their home and invite others in for a visit. This is also an important tactic to suggest the inherent sociality of drinking. The way Vanessa House addresses the consumer as purchaser, host, and/or guest is a common marketing tactic used in other labels. Anthropologist David Graddol (2006) explains how using a label to relate to the consumer in these different ways speaks to the “taste, judgement, wealth and hospitality” (2006: 197) of the person who is hosting. For Vanessa House, their labels are insinuating that this is a perfect, delicious beer to share stories and create memories of their own. Their label and the atmosphere of their taproom encourage camaraderie between the brewers and the consumers, as well as between consumers.

Stonecloud offers a different perspective, one that brings in a more expansive feel. By that I mean they have influences from other states to make their brewery what it is. Joel, the owner, is Oklahoma born and raised but moved to Colorado for school and ended up staying there for nearly 13 years gaining brewery experience. Nate, the head brewer, was born and raised in Colorado and worked in the industry there as well for about 3 years before making the decision to move to Oklahoma.

Adrienne, the woman who began the taproom, was born and raised in Ohio and worked in the market there until she and her husband moved to Oklahoma. With the three of them as influential starters in the company, the brewery has a different feel than the other two; their development of the brewery used multiple minds and influences from around the country and situates them all in the same place and time in the present. They take influences from their different experiences, which can be seen through their labels and the names they choose to give their beers.

Neon Sunshine got its name from the influence of the Sunshine Building and its neon sign on the roof of the brewery. This label was actually created by the advertising company that Stonecloud uses for their cans, making it a label influenced from multiple sources. The Astrodog can comes from experiences in Colorado, making it something unique to those who know the story and offering mystery to those who don't, which is a type of "place name" where a story or memory is invoked to those who know. Keith Basso uses the term "place name" to discuss how the Western Apache use history to discuss the importance of places. Each place has a specific story, or tale of wisdom, that is recognized because of the names the Western Apache give to the specific places (Basso 2010). The name Astrodog is also a form of condensation symbolism because it tells an entire story with a single name (Sapir 1985), just as the names at Vanessa House do; however, their description of this beer does not mention the story, leaving the consumer out of the boundaries of knowledge. The Havana Affair label is the Oklahoma skyline as seen from the roof of the building with the neon sign directly in the view; however a hidden gem that is a flying dinosaur comes from Adrienne's personal artwork. She

painted the bathrooms in the taproom and decided to put a flying dinosaur in one of them, so it is a nod towards to those who experience the taproom and have seen it firsthand.

Another label that I have not mentioned from Stonecloud is their generic purple can. This label can only be found in the brewery because these beers are not distributed to liquor stores. This label has a before and after story of the brewery. On one side is a depiction of the boat tied to the rafters and shrubbery along the walls. The other side displays tanks and barrels, as the brewery after the reconstruction. This label also invokes Sapir's condensation symbolism (1985), where a visual, rather than a name, invokes a story and history of the brewery and the Sunshine Building as well. Stonecloud, along with other Oklahoma City breweries, collaborated to make a beer for the Craft Beer Summit. They named it Hopsplaining as a play on to the term "mansplaining." It was their way of laughing at themselves and acknowledging their ability to over explain the different qualities of beer to people who probably are not even interested.

Everything Stonecloud does is collaborative with Joel as the final yes. Even the names of rotating beers on tap can be named by anybody in the company. I have actually labeled a beer myself. It was a table beer, which is an easy-drinking beer with a low ABV so that someone can consume multiple beers without getting too inebriated. The word "table" is actually the signifier by which it tells someone that it is a lighter drinking beverage. There can be a table saison, table IPA, or a table pale ale, for example; the style does not matter but it must be a lower alcohol level to allow the word "table" to sit in front of it. On the week they wanted to release it,

they could not figure out a name so they decided to ask around for suggestions. I was messing around with the words “table” and “beer” in Spanish and came up with “Cerveza de Mesa,” which literally translates to “table beer” in Spanish. When presented to Joel, he nodded his head in agreement and the name went on the list.

Linguistically, the name is fun because of the manipulation of the Spanish language to make it unique. As someone who knows some Spanish but not necessarily the full depth, I often find myself manipulating the language into its own meaning that is special to me. I have a tattoo that reads, “Vaya Salvaje,” which to me means, “Go Wild;” however, to those whose first language is Spanish, this is not a phrase that is used. “Going wild” in English can mean letting down one’s hair or living freely without restrictions, but this knowledge only comes from knowing the use of wordplay and double meanings in English. This concept does not register in Spanish, where this phrase means, “go savage,” as in the command “go” and the act “savage” like a savage animal, very different meanings. These different social histories equate to different resulting semiotics.

In the name “Cerveza de Mesa,” the same concept can be applied. One must have knowledge of multiple things to understand this name in its entirety. First, someone must have a complex knowledge of English and a basic knowledge of Spanish, what Bakhtin calls polyglossia (1981). This is the idea that having a sense of multiple languages allows for the creativity of meaning brought in by both worldviews and infusing them into each other. The Spanish is needed for the translation and the English is needed to understand the meanings beyond the words. Third, someone must have knowledge of beer and beer styles to know

exactly what a table beer is so that you can fully judge whether you want it or not. Someone who only knows Spanish and the basic concepts of English would not understand this beer name because in their head they are imagining a table beer as a beer that sits on a table or maybe even a table shaped like a beer. Without knowing different beers styles, one would not know this as a lighter drinking beer.

This brings me to another complex detail of this name, the word “cerveza.” This word, especially in the context of beer, has multiple layers of meaning. The word directly translates to beer but not necessarily the different beer styles like pilsner, lager, or saison. The term “la cerveza negra” can be used for stout but even then, the direct translation is “black beer.” In English, however, the word “cerveza” means “beer” and with the added understanding of beer styles, a cerveza is a certain type of beer. It is considered to be a Mexican lager like Corona or Modelo. So it gets complicated when you add all of this prior knowledge into this name because those who know all these details can get confused.

There is an app called Untappd where people can rate and comment on different beers from breweries all over the country. Since the name Cerveza de Mesa has so many underlying meanings, people on Untappd were rating the beer poorly because of the misconception based on the name. They were upset that the beer wasn’t an actual cerveza and had a completely different taste. Even though Stonecloud made sure to write that it was not a cerveza on the description, people were still confused, which is exactly why Joel decided to change the name to Table Beer instead of Cerveza de Mesa. Naming is intentional and sometimes being clever works in one’s favor and other times it works against the brewery. Especially on an

app like Untappd, where it is largely subjective but the individual ratings matter to the brewery, it is important for the image and brand of the brewery to have higher ratings.

The changing of the name, however, does highlight the importance of public perception within consumption. Label descriptions and names are designed to appeal to the customer and intrigue them enough to try a taste. Creating a beer is largely creative, but if the consumer is not into the beer produced, then it affects the type of styles that are made within the brewery. It is a delicate relationship between consumers and producers that extends beyond taste and relates to labels.

In addition to labels, the shape of a glass can hold meaning within the public perception. This was brought to my attention as I was asking questions and learning about the different gender dynamics within breweries and craft beer in general.

“Lolly, you should’ve been there, you would’ve loved this,” Jake said to me as I walked through his door.

“What happened?” I’m intrigued.

“This guy came in the bar last night and demanded his beer be poured in a ‘manly’ glass and not one of the ‘girly-ass’ glasses,” he said while laughing.

I had my head cocked to the side and my eyebrows furrowed. “Wait, what does that mean?”

“He didn’t want the tulip glass, he wanted the pint glass because it’s more ‘manly.’”

“Aw man, you should’ve just pulled out the giant one-liter stein and just poured the can into there and said ‘Is this manly enough for you?’” Michael chimed in jokingly.

I wish I could’ve been there so that I could’ve seen the full scene. I wish I could’ve seen who this customer was and his demeanor, but the underlying conversation is the same because I have heard it a multitude of times. A man unsecure about his masculinity refuses to drink from a glass that has absolutely nothing to do with gender, but somehow everything to do with his perception of what a man should be or should drink out of.



Figure 2: Tulip Glass



Figure 3: Pint Glass

These are the two glasses in discussion. The first image, on the left, is a tulip glass and the one on the right is a pint glass. These are the main two glasses found at Stonecloud. The preconceived notion of the man in the story above is that the tulip glass is the “girly-ass” glass and the pint is “manly.” Just by looking at these

glasses one is assigning gender based on the stereotypes of male and female bodies. According to gender stereotypes, women have a more curved body structure with a thinner waist and are considered to be shorter, whereas men have a longer body with broad shoulders and tend to be taller. This man has gendered the glasses and assigned each a gender category.

Beyond the physical characteristics of this glass, this man's logic is actually flawed. I had a similar conversation with Samantha, the social media director and bartender at Stonecloud. We were discussing beer types and their perceived gender. "People think that certain beers are for certain people," she said. "Dark stouts and IPA's are just for men and lighter beers and fruity beers are just for women."

Beer is considered to be a drink for men as opposed to wine as a drink for women. The more bitter or the more dark in color, the more manly the beer is considered to be, whereas a fruity beer, like a sour, or a lighter beer like a saison is considered to be more "girly." However, the flaw in this is that those beers that are "fruity" beer or "light" beer actually make up a lot of the genres within the craft beer industry. Dark stouts and IPA's (India Pale Ale) are just two categories and if we examine it more, some IPA's can be pretty fruity or pretty light. This is all just based on look and taste.

If we consider the alcohol content, things become even more complex. Using the logic from above, then higher alcohol level beers would probably be considered manlier. However, if the beer has a high ABV then it is actually poured in a tulip glass because the more alcohol the smaller the pour, so this complicates the gender

rules for beers and glasses. Most of the time those “manly” dark stouts are actually going to be poured into those “girly-ass” glasses. So what is a manly man supposed to do to satisfy his gender role? Does he risk looking “girly” with a tulip glass or does he trust his peers and onlookers to have an understanding of alcohol levels and beer glasses? Beer and beer glasses hold a lot of symbolic power when masculinity is fragile.

The concept of symbolic power in language was first introduced by Pierre Bourdieu where he discussed how language could reinforce social, political, and economic dominance within a society (2011). In the situation above, we can see how this man had differentiated gender roles in mind. Samantha said it perfectly when she said, “Not only is he saying it’s girly, it’s a negative connotation in his mind. Just like saying, ‘Oh, you kick like a girl’ or ‘You punch like a girl’ because then he’s saying ‘Oh, the beer’s not good, then, if it’s girly’ ... that’s what the guy is saying.” The man decides what beer is good or worth drinking based on how he will be perceived in public when drinking it. Samantha has actually had a few male customers say to her, “I know it comes in that glass, but can you pour it in another one?” This language suggests more about the political and social background of the consumer rather than of the glass itself; he is trying to reinforce his gender through his performance of drinking from a certain glass that, to him, invokes a certain kind of meaning. The consumer’s idea of “manly” and “girly” is being projected onto a beer glass.

Through a symbolic anthropology and linguistic perspective we can notice how the different beer types and glasses flow into public perception of masculinity

and femininity. Lera Boroditsky has done research using different languages that assign gender to nouns and has seen how the different languages describe the noun depending on their gender (Boroditsky, Schmidt, & Philips 2003). This experiment is a look into how language shapes thought. For example, the word for bridge is grammatically masculine in Spanish and feminine in German. When asked to describe this word, native Spanish speakers will use words like strong, sturdy, or thick, which are stereotypically masculine words, and German speakers will use words like beautiful, elegant, or vibrant, which are stereotypically feminine words (Boroditsky, Schmidt, & Philips 2003). In this same vein, when talking about beer, the dark, bitter, and bold drinks are considered more manly and are described using masculine words whereas the beers that are light, fruity, and floral are more “girly” and are described using feminine words. Taking this logic and the gendered glasses, this man is thus trying to drink a beer that matches his identity as a cisgender male, publicly performing his ideals of masculinity and femininity within drinking.

However, glasses extend way beyond the realm of public perception; they actually serve certain functions for beer. Different beer glasses accentuate the beer that is being consumed. As opposed to drinking out of a plastic cup or a can, a glass allows for the drinker to see the color and smell the beer, which are important aspects when consuming.

I want to describe the different beer glasses that are in use within the craft beer community, which extend beyond the Oklahoma realm and into the history of craft beer that began in Europe. Which beer goes into which glass is not a matter of

opinion, but a matter of historical significance that has been laid down by brewers and breweries in Germany, Switzerland, England, and other European countries.³

Tulip, Snifter, and Goblet glasses originated in Belgium during the Middle Ages when monks in monasteries would brew high up in the mountains. These glasses are all in the same family of glasses because of their similar shape; however the types of beers that go into them are very different. Tulip and Snifter glasses are short and have a bulb-like body with a round bottom that narrows towards the top but flares out just slightly at the edge (like the picture shown above). These glasses also have a short, thin stem at the bottom. The narrow nature at the top is to lock in the aroma of the beers that go inside, while the stem allows for swirling so that the sensory aspect can be experienced at any point of the drinking experience, as opposed to just the beginning. These glasses will hold double/imperial IPA's, saisons, American wild ales, Scotch ales, or fruit sours. These are often higher in ABV and very aromatic, whether in malt, hoppiness, or fruit. Because of the small opening of these glasses, the drinking experience is often slower and meant for savoring every flavor within the beer.

Glass beer mugs were some of the first mass-produced glassware in England before World War II, and after the war the mugs were shortened to a smaller size. However, beer mugs can still be found anywhere in any shape or size. These glasses are wide in circumference and some have ridges on the side. They are typically constructed with thicker glass to avoid breakage, which helps with durability. The

³ All information about beer glasses was gathered from multiple websites, especially <https://learn.kegerator.com/beer-glasses/> and <https://www.kegworks.com/blog/beer-glassware-guide-beer-glass-types-uses/>.

most notable design feature is the handle that protrudes from the side. The handle's purpose is so that the beer can stay cold longer because the warmth of someone's hands isn't touching the glass to heat it up. The thick glass also helps with keeping it cold as well. Because these glasses are large, the beers that are typically poured into them are American, German, English, and Irish styles of beer that are not extremely high in ABV and are well rounded with full-bodied flavors.

Goblet glasses, on the other hand, are much larger. They have a large round bowl and a thick stem. The larger bowl of these glasses allows for big hearty sips. The beers that normally go into this glass are heavy and dark like Belgian IPA's or Belgian strong dark ales. The large gulp allows for the beer to go directly to the back of the tongue where the taste buds that detect bitterness are located.

The next glass is the Pint glass, which has a few relatives in this category. There is the American Pint Glass and the Imperial Pint Glass, also sometimes called a "nonic" glass, sometimes spelled "nonik." The Imperial or "nonic" glass was the first of the pint glasses to be used in the craft beer industry in England during the 1980s. These glasses are tall with a medium opening but the defining feature is the slight bulge that is just below the rim of the glass. The American pint glass that is very familiar in bars is straight all the way towards the rim. The purpose of the bulge is to trap the head of the beer, the foam that rests on top. This allows for a more aromatic experience as one takes a sip. British ales, pale ales, India pale ales, and red ales are served in these glasses. The American style pint is a more basic design in which almost any style of beer can be poured into the glass. The shape does not enhance or distract from the flavor profile of the beer. The pint glass in the picture

above is somewhat in the middle of these two styles; it is not fully straight edged but it does not have a very pronounced bulge near the rim.

There are many other types of beer glasses but I will only discuss one more, because it is the only glass that is named after a beer. The Pilsner glass originated in the Czech Republic, in a tiny village named Pilsen where the light golden style of beer was first invented in the 1840s.⁴ This glass is tall and slender with a slightly wider mouth that shows off the carbonation and clarity that pilsners and other lighter beers are known for. This glass also helps make the head last longer, which keeps the aromas from the beer in the nose of the drinker.

Remembering the man who gendered the glasses, it is clear to see that his knowledge of how beer glasses are used is limited. Beer glasses have historic uses and Stonecloud follows these uses. Deciding which beer goes in which glass isn't up to the brewery, but it is learned knowledge through familiarity with the industry. If this man were to go to a brewery in Germany or Colorado, he would find men drinking from a tulip glass, just as he was supposed to.

I want to shift the conversation from the specifics of glass use and beer styles, to the larger ideological status that is assumed with the consumption of alcohol, and beer specifically. I first became interested in studying the craft beer niche when I was met with the social developments it had on my immediate family. My brother lives with his wife in Portland, Oregon, and I only see him about two or three times a year. Our relationship has grown more distant since we lived in the same state, and it took a long time to navigate towards the relationship we have now. However,

⁴ Found while looking up the origin of the name.
<https://www.dictionary.com/browse/pilsen>

every time I would visit him with my parents, we always went to a brewery. Our conversations always started more on the surface, but the more beers we consumed, the deeper our conversations grew. Our body language would open up and we would be using our hands to speak rather than fidgeting with the glass in front of us.

It's not solely the consumption of alcohol that leads to inebriation that allows for this type of unfolding in a conversation. There is a level of community that one feels when sitting around a table or behind a bar engaging in human interaction. Beer drinking is often a social event and has been since beer was first fermented many thousands of years ago (Standage 2005).

The simple act of a toast can unite individuals for a common purpose. It can actually have multiple meanings within an interaction. The most common is when two or more people toast to health or to a community gathering before or after a meal, a wedding, or any other celebratory event. Cheers can also be given in a sarcastic manner. My father will often clink glasses with me if the check is incredibly high at a restaurant. He will look at the bill and say, "Well... happy birthday," and clink my glass while it is still sitting on the table, even if it isn't someone's birthday that day. He'll do the same thing to a bad day right before he takes a big gulp of beer. His form of toasting is a symbol of trying to forget rather than celebration, or trying to make a rough subject light.

I have also heard people use "Cheers" as a way of saying enjoy. At the brewery, the bartenders will often say "Cheers" as they hand the customer a beer. However, when I am behind the bar it feels completely unnatural, although that doesn't stop me from trying it out every once in a while. In this context, "Cheers" is

a way to say, “Thanks, enjoy” as an acknowledgement to the person as well as the drink, itself.

Through all of these different social exchanges, the reading of labels, beer glass symbolism, and exchanging conversation and wellbeing over a drink, different identity constructs are being reinforced. Bakhtin discusses the term heteroglossia to explain the meaning or context of speech (1981). People use words for their own intention, whether that is appealing to the Oklahoma generalities, trying to create closeness through strategic vulnerability, or taking words and stories to create a singular identity. All of these are taking different space and time concepts in each individual’s mind and creating a new concept in reality. The collective community of craft beer is using all of their combined knowledge to shape a distinctive shared reality in Oklahoma. This, in turn, incorporates shared ideologies of religion, of community, as well as the global aspect of craft beer, and condenses it into a way that appeals to Oklahomans and makes it more localized.

CHAPTER FOUR

SWIRL, SNIFF, SIP

In an effort to develop my palate, I asked Joel and Nate to give me sensory training. Sensory training is essentially exposing and testing your palate to see what “off flavors” you are more likely to taste or smell. Off flavors are the tastes and smells you can identify when there is something chemically wrong with the beer. There are testing kits that can be bought online that offer tiny capsules that simulate the different off flavors. To experience the flavor in its purest form, we use Coors Light as the base beer because of how consistent, clean, and simple the beer is every single time and in every can. Larger companies like Anheuser-Busch have had years to perfect their brewing recipe so they have consistent flavors.

I watch as Joel prepares for the training. He grabs five one-liter stein glasses and fills them to the top with Coors Light. He then labels each of the glasses so he can keep track of which off flavor he will put into which glass. Each capsule containing the off flavor is about one inch in size, so he dumps the entire quantity in its corresponding glass. Joel grabs a large mixing tool and stirs the flavors into the beer to fully mix the off flavor into the beer. There are five of us engaging in the sensory training: Joel, Nate, Patrick, Colton, and myself. Each of us gets 5 tulip glasses, one for each off flavor. Nate and Patrick decide to do the tastings blind in order to test their palate since they have already been exposed to these off flavors, whereas I opt to know what I’m tasting, since I’ve never experienced these sensations before. Joel already knows which is which since he set everything up,

and Colton runs from the back of the brewery to front between each tasting because the taproom is open and he is needing to work in the front as well.

We each pick up the first glass and I watch Nate, Patrick, and Joel swirl the beer in the glass with their hand covering the top. They stop swirling, remove their hand, and take a long and deep sniff.

“Oh, I know exactly what this one is,” Nate says after his first inhale.

They all let the smell sit in their nose for a minute as they swirl the glass again. They take another big sniff. I follow their lead, swirl and sniff, and in my nose I get the sharp smell of an apple orchard. Sour, like a green apple. They look at me, waiting for my analysis. “I smell apples.”

“Yup! That’s acetaldehyde,” Joel informs me. “It’s got a distinct green apple smell.”

We all take a sip of the beer and it tastes a little sweeter than normal with a slight apple finish. My lips pucker, because I’m drinking Coors Light and also because of the apples. We each pick up our second glass and repeat the process, swirl and sniff. In the midst of sniffing, Colton comes back to the table from the front to try the first glass. He smells green apples as well.

“This totally smells like newspaper. That’s gotta be oxidation,” Patrick says immediately after sniffing the second sample.

I smell it and get a slight papery scent but it’s not as prominent for me. I take a sip and that’s when I can really taste it. The beer is dry on my tongue and leaves a papery texture as the liquid goes down my throat. I recall from a previous quality

test with Leo, the quality control expert, that oxidation smelled and tasted like caramel. So I ask Joel about it.

“Normally with hoppier beers, you get a more caramel taste and smell but since this is Coors and it’s not super hoppy, the off flavor will be more papery.”

I nod and shake my head, perplexed that an off flavor can vary so much within different types of beer. The third glass has an immediate butter scent. There was no swirling required for this one.

“Diacetyl. I don’t even have to think about that one,” Nate says as he jerks back with his nose wrinkled. “I don’t even want to taste it.”

Sure enough it tastes exactly like buttered popcorn. It’s oily on the tongue and skunky as you swallow. Apparently, to make fake butter, they use diacetyl. I haven’t touched fake butter since finding that out. I still cringe thinking about it. Colton comes running back in to catch up on the beers he’s missed. He doesn’t quite recall the oxidation newspaper flavor but jerks his head back at the smell of buttered popcorn. His mouth forms a disgusted frown and his eyes pinch shut. “That’s real gross.” He shakes his head as he heads back to the taproom.

The fourth glass is strange to me. I can’t smell anything, just the weak tea scent of Coors Light. I furrow my eyebrows and look at the guys waiting for their reaction. Simultaneously, they throw their heads back and scrunch their faces.

“That’s disgusting. It’s straight up tomato soup,” Nate says pushing his glass further from him on the table.

“It’s totally creamed corn,” Joel sniffs again. “Yup, creamed corn. That one’s DMS. Dimethyl Sulfide”

What? I don't smell either tomato soup or creamed corn. I take a sip and again taste nothing. Nate and Joel are totally disgusted and I get nothing. Joel explains how every palate is different; some people can pick up scents and tastes more than others. It just depends on what your taste buds are used to. Patrick doesn't get the taste or smell as much as Nate and Joel but he definitely gets it more than I do.

The fifth and final glass has a sharp vinegar smell. But not white vinegar, more of a balsamic vinegar that's sweeter. I take a tiny sip, only slightly aware I'm a tad buzzed, and taste something sharp on my tongue. Vinegar.

"Definitely acetic acid." This time Patrick chimes in.

Colton comes back into the back and grabs the beer with Dimethyl Sulfide. "I don't smell anything." He takes a sip. "Or really taste anything, I mean I know something is off, but I can't put my finger on it."

I perk up, "I didn't smell anything either!"

"Maybe you aren't susceptible to it either, Colton. Do you not smell creamed corn or tomato soup?" Joel asks.

"Not at all." He keeps sniffing trying to get a hint of those flavors. "That's so frustrating, now I want to smell it!"

"Trust me man, no you don't." Nate cringes from the opposite side of the table.

I laugh as I watch Colton try the final glass in the sensory training. He picks it up, swirls it in the glass, and takes a whiff. "That smells like straight vinegar," he says as he lets the smell rest in his nostrils.

“Yup. Acetic Acid,” Joel says as he stands up to begin clearing the glasses. He looks directly at me. “Now when you try different beers and you catch these smells or flavors you’ll know something is wrong with them.”

“Yeah except if it’s Dimethyl Sulfide,” I say grabbing the glass to try and get the scent once more.

Tasting a beer is completely different than simply drinking a beer. Tasting is the act of evaluating the different attributes of the beer, whereas drinking is enjoying without much thought of the specifics in the drink. Sensory training would go into the category of tasting; however, whether tasting or drinking, you use the same sensory nerves.

Sensation begins with the senses and their stimulating effects, and continues with individual perception of the taste. It starts with the tongue and the nose, or the gustatory or olfactory perceptions. Each sensory nerve that is related to these two senses sends out information to different parts of the brain, causing them to be perceived differently by the person who is tasting. In this case, I use tasting as the general, unconscious term that it is normally associated with, rather than the conscious evaluating of taste, as I have used it above.

Historically our taste senses, including smell, have been used to locate ourselves within the natural world. This is not only in humans, but in animals as well. The different taste categories (sweet, salty, bitter, sour, and umami) are sensory indicators to our bodies of warning or desire. In the gustation, these signals are connected to the brain stem, which controls our heart rate and respiration,

meaning that these tastes help determine what a person likes and dislikes in the qualitative sense (Mosher 2017).

The olfactory sense, or smell, has also historically been used to warn against potential harmful substances in nature. However, the olfactory senses transmit to the amygdala and the hypothalamus, which are both related to initiating emotion and memory. This means that the aroma of a substance can represent other moments in time or can become associated with something else (Sarafoleanu, Mella, Georgescu, & Perederco 2009). In this, emotion is related to action, but unconsciously. People perceive smells in different ways, which means that there are two different ways in which someone can experience aromas. There is the orthonasal olfactory sensation, which can be experienced through the nasal cavity with a sniff. Then there is the retronasal olfactory sensation, which are the aromas from the food or drink that are already in your mouth that come from your mouth or the back of your throat (Mosher 2017). In this case, the aromatic experience is paired with taste sensations. This flavor of taste and smell spark a different kind of reaction within people where they experience memories and emotions of familiarity or disconnect, preference or dislike, and other kinds of sensations, which are hard to describe in words (Mosher 2017). In this regard, “culture and nature become one” (Trubeck 2008: 6). The ability of the brewer to create a drink that triggers memories or emotions through a sniff or a sip is part of what makes beer drinking so profoundly special. These psychological experiences are powerful connections between brewer and drinker, and past and present.

Our personal experiences can affect what we taste and smell just as our cultural experiences do. The subject of “taste” is described as something that is highly subjective. Sociologists, theorists, and philosophers have looked at taste in both the areas of aesthetics and consumption. Immanuel Kant denied any concept of good taste but rather speaks of taste and beauty as something subjective to the person beholding the object in discussion. He believed taste to be personal, something that cannot be brought into the universal. He thought of judgment as something that brings the community together, whether it be sharing the same judgment or debating it, either way it brings together humanity in social interaction regardless of class, economics, or politics (Kant 2007). However, taste is subjective because it can never be shared physiologically between people, so it must be discussed through dialogue and agreement (Trubeck 2008:7).

For craft beer drinkers, a huge part of consuming craft beer is the experience when drinking it. The German word *gemütlichkeit* indicates the feeling of warmth and welcome. It is associated with friendliness and a sense of belonging or well being that is associated with a social gathering and acceptance. This word has been largely associated with drinking beer as a form of “easy community, where people in a certain space have decided to put aside differences and suspicions and consciously work as being convivial” (Mosher 2017:2). Another helpful concept is that of *terroir*, which is most often used in the context of wine. *Terroir* refers to the taste of place, which encompasses the geological and other physical attributes of the land where the wine grape has been grown and kept. *Terroir* also carries with it a spirit of a place that people hold a connection to; the idea that you can taste the amount of

care and proficiency it took to make the wine. However, in regards to beer, obtaining a taste of place, especially in Oklahoma where the dirt is less desirable for growing the necessary ingredients for beer like hops, wheat, yeast etc., *terroir* is more about tasting the spirit of the place rather than the ingredients. For this reason, I want to draw on both the deep connections of *terroir* that people have towards place, and the cozy feeling, *gemütlichkeit* that comes from drinking with friends, to discuss the idea of tasting a place.

Craft beer drinkers taste a beer with multiple sensory transmitters within their bodies, the physical as well as the psychological. They enjoy the community and being able to see the brewery where the beer they are drinking originated, and even seeing the face behind who actually brews the beer they are drinking. Stonecloud has released multiple beers that incorporate local fruits or other ingredients, and each time they make a point to emphasize the local factor. For example, here is the Instagram description for Providence, a blonde sour with Asian Pears:

A few months after we opened, late summer of 2017, we contacted our friend @chriswebster1102 of Providence Farms. He hooked us up with pounds upon pounds of Asian Pears from an orchard that needed saving. We processed these little guys, blended them with our house blonde sour and into barrels it went.

Cut to a year and a half later, after many stout releases where this beer had been pushed aside, we are finally ready to release Providence for your drinking pleasure.

Bottle details:

ABV: 7%

750ml: \$18

Magnum: \$40

Chris from Providence Farms will be in-house with all types of fun, educational info about the farm and 2019's CSA (Community Support Agriculture) program. Come support your local makers & growers!

Throughout my research, I have noticed that people are more inclined to drink it or support it if they know it was sourced from the place they live. With every sip, there is a place or a face to appreciate. People are more inclined to give their business to someone who has invested their life into growing Oklahoma, rather than a faceless drink that does not spark any kind of connection. Other states and countries use different tactics to appeal their local consumers, but still try to make the connection to the local important.

There is also another meaning to "taste." There is also taste in regards to social status. In this regard, taste is determined by cultural capital, education, physical characteristics like clothing and language, intellect, and other practices in which prestige knowledge is notable (Bourdieu 2015). In the craft beer movement, there are levels of distinction that are associated with tasting and drinking. Tasting may be evaluating consciously and drinking is without conscious examination. Further, those who taste for evaluation can be distinguished into two different groups.

However, first I want to outline the three ways in which Bourdieu, in his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, believes people display their distinctions within a niche group through practice. One must have specialized knowledge, a refined palate, and an understanding of the language that is used. For craft beer, specialized knowledge would include knowing the names of different hops strands, the different styles of beer, the different glasses in which those beers go, the process of brewing a beer, different breweries and their reputations, and even knowing when new beers are being released, locally and nationally. There is more to beer than just drinking it and those with the expansive knowledge are able to influence the industry, whether they are producers or consumers.

The distinction of understanding language may sound a little strange when speaking of craft beer, but there are specific phrases and terms that are used. For those with extensive knowledge, the terms West Coast IPA and East Coast IPA mark distinct differences in beer styles, beyond knowing what IPA stands for (India Pale Ale). Knowing the difference between something that is single hopped or double hopped, or even dry hopped, is another key to knowing and talking about beer. Those who trade beer, which is a whole community unto itself, have specific code language. Trading beer is an activity often done online through specific beer community websites. The idea is to be able to try different beers around the country without having to actually travel. The etiquette is to trade beers of similar value, so one must know what one has and what one is getting. In these online communities, you might see a post that says:

FT: Stonecloud Fat Tony + Touching Speedos

ISO: Bourbon County Bramble + Vanilla

Also open to other BA Stouts.

IP OKC or shipping, PM for details.

This post requires the understanding of certain acronyms and further background knowledge of different kinds of beers. FT stands for “for trade,” then the possible recipient either knows the beer, or must look it up to understand the value. ISO stands for “in search of,” so if someone has what another is looking for and is willing to trade, then they will exchange information and trust that each will send the other what they desire. BA stands for “bad ass.” IP stands for “in person” meaning that whoever posted this can do in person trades in the Oklahoma City area or is willing to ship anywhere outside. PM is “private message” so the two parties can exchange information and do the trade. Understanding the language and code makes communication easier. It is also beneficial to have the specialized knowledge or a wide range of knowledge of different beers in order to conduct better trades.

The third marker Bourdieu outlined is a refined palate. Where Bourdieu was discussing all foods consumable, I am using it to refer to beer. There are multiple indicators to determine whether or not one has a refined palate. You can tell the difference between someone who simply drinks beer and someone who tastes beer by the way they drink their beer. Someone who simply drinks beer will receive their beverage, take a sip, and put it down, and will repeat until the beer is gone.

Watching Joel, Nate, and Patrick during my sensory training, I realized there is a certain sequence of actions when someone drinks beer to get the full experience. First, they will look at the color of the beer, often holding the beer in front of the

light to get a better view. Depending on the style of beer, the drink will look a certain way, and the drinker will have the knowledge and know what to look for. Second, the drinker will swirl the beer around in the glass, allowing for the notes to release, making the smell stronger on one's nose. Sometimes, like what the guys did during our sensory training, you'll even see someone put their hand over the top of the glass as they are swirling to trap the smell before releasing it into their nose. Third, the drinker will finally take a sip, but before they swallow, they will swish the beer around in their mouth, in order for every taste bud to experience the beer. Through swirling, sniffing, and sipping you can fully experience every taste that goes into making a beer. As I have discussed previously, it is not just about flavors but the aromatic experience as well. This outward expression of a refined palate is how you can distinguish between people who are tasting a beer and people who are drinking it.

Using these three distinction markers outlined by Bourdieu, I have come to notice three different social statuses within the craft beer movement. I want to emphasize that these are just social statuses; they are unrelated to class because the word "class" suggests group boundaries based on social, economic, and political standing, whereas within the craft beer movement the different level of distinctions are not based on socioeconomic class. I use "status" because it offers the possibility of fluid movement between different statuses.

With that, here are the three different statuses I have identified within the craft beer community: average drinkers, beer nerds, and industry workers. First, there are those who go to a brewery for the sake of atmosphere and community but

don't necessarily know much about beer or pay attention to the different levels and complexities of the beer in front of them. I call these people the "average drinker." Then, there are those that consider themselves "beer nerds" who have extensive knowledge and community within the culture. Finally, you have those who also have an extensive knowledge but reject the title of a "beer nerd" because they work in the industry. These statuses reveal themselves through interactions in the brewery.

Stonecloud turned a year old in July and had an anniversary party to celebrate its birthday. They decided to create a beer called Orbit One, a maple bourbon barrel aged stout, to release the day of the party. I volunteered from opening to close because there was no way I was going to miss this event, for research and honestly for some fun as well. The party started at 12 p.m., so I showed up around 11:45, thinking it would be enough time to park and get placed into my station for the day of work ahead.

When I pulled around the corner of the Sunshine Building, there was a line of people from the front door of Stonecloud that wrapped around the side of the building. There were probably 100 or more people standing in line. The people in the front had lawn chairs. Apparently, people had started lining up around 7 that morning. Finding a parking spot was not easy but once I finally squeezed my car in the tiniest spot known to man, I jumped out and headed towards the front door walking past every single person in line.

There was a mix of different genders but it was predominantly men. Some people wore brewery shirts, some even wore Stonecloud shirts, some were with their families, and some had dogs with them. Everyone was at least 21 because the laws hadn't changed to let children into taprooms yet. When I reached the brewery doors I saw the look of stress, excitement, and overwhelming anticipation on the faces of the employees. The entire staff had just finished singing happy birthday to their brewery and chugged a beer. "Let's serve these beer nerds!" The Saturday sirens rang and the doors swung open.

I was stationed outside with Adrienne, where I poured beers as she took people's money and gave them bottles of Orbit One. In those first few hours, there were people with beer shirts who knew exactly what they wanted, the maximum number of bottles they could get of the new release. They ordered beer from us, but since we only had four beers outside most opted to wait so they could get a sample of the barrel aged beer that was only being poured inside. As people ordered from Adrienne, they would ask her very specific questions like how long was the beer barrel aged and what kind of bourbon barrels were used. Adrienne answered every question with a smile but occasionally looked at me with big eyes and a half-hearted smile, obviously tired of repeating herself a thousand times.

As the day went on, the questions started to change from beer-specific questions to requests for general recommendations. People would come up to Adrienne and say, "So I normally drink Bud Light, do you guys have anything like that?" Without fail Adrienne would tell them to drink Havana Affair because it's a light crisp lager that is easy to drink and most resembles the beer they are looking

for; each time the customer would take a sip, widen their eyes and say, “Oh wow, that’s really good. Thank you.” Adrienne would answer with a smile and say, “I’m glad you like it,” before moving on to the next customer in line.

All three social statuses were present during the day of the anniversary party. The average drinkers are the people who enjoy beer but don’t necessarily go out of their way to experiment with different styles. They know what they like and are content to stick to that knowledge. Like the customers who favor Bud Light or other industrial domestic beers, they tend to stick with craft beers that taste similar. These people go to a brewery as a special activity to do with friends or family, like an anniversary party. I would argue that most of the people who visit a brewery on a day-to-day basis are these types of consumers. In Oklahoma, where the industry is so new, most of the consumers are experiencing their first dive into the waters of craft beer and are eager to venture into the new local businesses.

Beer nerds make up a large portion of the craft beer niche. First, linguistically speaking, the term “nerd” is used very specifically. From my understanding of this word, within the context of craft beer, a nerd is defined mainly as a person who is an expert in or extremely devoted to a particular subject, this one being craft beer. So, a beer nerd can be found in or around all things related to craft beer. They will be in online groups trading beer, and they will be waiting in line at a brewery for a new beer release, like the people in line at the anniversary party. Depending on the beer being released and even the brewery, some people will be waiting in line for multiple hours before the beer is actually released.

A beer nerd can also be distinguished by the way in which they drink their beer. They understand the importance of getting the aromatic as well as the taste experience while drinking. Beer nerds know the different styles of beer and depending on what is trending or what is popular in the craft beer community, that is what they seek. Throughout my research, barrel aged stouts have been known as the “hype beers” at the moment. A hype beer is something that is currently trending within the community and thus highly demanded. Throughout my time at Stonecloud, I have seen countless bottle releases, but the ones that are always the most popular are the barrel-aged stouts. To the beer nerd, they are complex and have multiple layers of flavors within a single sip, and their taste palates enjoy the different sensations in their mouths. They have a high ABV (alcohol by volume) and are often limited in quantity, making them more intriguing to the consumer.

This brings me to the difference between someone who is considered a beer nerd and someone who works in the industry. I make the distinctions because both groups present Bourdieu’s different markers of higher status: specialized knowledge, language understanding, and a refined palate. However, there is an important difference between beer nerds and industry people. First is the fact that one gets paid to know and understand beer, whereas the other does not. Industry people basically get paid to be a beer nerd, which is why for the most part, they’re not considered beer nerds. Being a beer nerd is a hobby, while an industry worker is obligated to know specialized information. However, an industry worker can be a beer nerd in other practices, such as by self-proclamation, beer trading and waiting in line for beer releases.

Industry workers also have a distinct knowledge of how to describe beer to both beer nerds and the average drinker. Adrienne was able to answer the specific questions of beer nerds, like how long the beer was aged and what ingredients were used, as well as answer questions to someone who is more clueless and looking for a general taste. She has knowledge of a wide variety of beers so that when someone asks her to pair a beer with a different tasting beer she can match the flavor.

An industry worker also appreciates *how* the beer is actually created. Oftentimes their favorite beers are the most simple and clean, because they know what it takes to make those types of beers. Highly experienced tasters are not usually interested in super sweet stouts but prefer clean and refreshing Pilsners or pale ales. These kind of tasters, which is not all industry workers by any means, have the ability to deconstruct the different tastes and aromas of a beer while also tasting it as a whole product (Mosher 2017:52). Their refined palate comes from years of working in the industry and constant testing and development of their sensory perceptions. Because of this, Pilsners and bitter, hoppy IPA's, if done right, are often more impressive. These beers are hard to make and it is easy to detect if they are not made well. Those who succeed have the respect and admiration of other industry workers, especially brewers.

Nate, the head brewer at Stonecloud, has helped me develop my knowledge in the processes of brewing exponentially. I have been with him on multiple occasions when brewing a beer and I have asked him a lot questions about the process and his personal preferences. Nate got his brewing experience in Denver, Colorado and moved to Oklahoma to help out Joel because of Oklahoma's newly

forming craft beer industry after the law changes in 2016. He is a tall guy with bright blue eyes and short blonde curly hair. He has tattoos up and down his arms and most of the time has punk rock music blaring around him.

Brewing starts, for Nate, at 5:30 a.m., and for me at 6 a.m., because waking up early is difficult for me. As I walk into the brewery, I'm overcome with an aroma that resembles fresh baked bread. My eyes aren't fully open yet, but there's loud punk rock music screaming over the speakers. I shuffle around the brewery and find Nate drinking a giant cup of black coffee and looking over everything he had prepped the day before.

"Hi," I say less than enthusiastic.

He laughs, "Well good morning!"

"I'm not alive yet, but I'm here."

"Get yourself some coffee, this is the best part of the day!"

"You're not real," I say as I shuffle towards the coffee pot and rub my eyes awake.

Nate begins with checking his prep work, preparing the grain and the hops and any other ingredient that goes in during the brewing process. When he is prepping I am able to ask most questions, because I try to avoid distracting too much while he brews. Although I know distraction is inevitable during every stage, brewing takes focus and careful calculation. With a cup of coffee in hand, I watch him as I wait for the caffeine to charge my brain. Curiosity strikes and I ask, "What's your favorite style of beer?" It seems to be a complicated question because I don't get much of a straight answer, just ramblings of how beer is constantly changing and

so does preference. So, I try a different approach. I bring up lagers and their transition throughout history.

“I feel like lagers have become more prominent. I think people are wanting to drink them because they’re a classic.”

This time I get him talking, and he goes off about how lagers are becoming more popular within people who actually “appreciate” beer, but it’s actually a beer that’s as old as beer itself.

“Germany and Switzerland have been creating lagers, clean crisp lagers, this entire time but people got tired of them and wanted something more.” He stands and looks at me.

People want those styles of beer when they’re in Germany or Switzerland but often overlook them in the U.S. because they think the brewers here can’t make them as well as those in Germany.

“Nowadays people are liking foo-foo fluff shit and they’re hiding behind all these different flavors and calling it beer.” Nate’s expressive eyes are open wide and he’s shaking his head.

He’s talking about the stout craze. The stouts that these beer nerds are into at the moment are filled with different flavors and notes so that the beer behind it is being overshadowed. Nate understands what it takes to make a lager as compared to a stout. He’s the type of guy who always strives to better himself so he chooses to focus on creating a beer that is classic, something that can’t be overpowered by fluff but is exactly what it is. It’s a difficult process because if a Pilsner, a type of lager, tastes bad or off then it’s very noticeable but if a stout isn’t at its greatest potential

then no one will notice because of the different flavors that are being added.

However, Nate did acknowledge that the “fluffy stouts” are actually what pays for him to make the lagers he loves.

Neither of us had noticed that he’d stop prepping because he was speaking so passionately. He quickly apologized for the ranting and went straight back to his work. I linger on his words, “those who appreciate beer” and try to articulate what he meant by that, but he’s begun to brew and my window has closed for now. As I watch him I think about appreciation. What does it take to appreciate a beer? Does one focus on the process or the quality? Or both? Focusing on the process consists of understanding what grain, yeast, or hops are infused in the beer to make it what it is. Appreciating the process also consists of knowing the science and the time it takes to make beer. Focusing on quality consists of flavor, notes, color, and smell, all of the physical qualities of the beer itself. A craft beer consumer acts as “an agent of taste, perceptive of the symbolic value contained within each bottle and every pour” (Mathews and Picton 2014: 340). In this instance, taste means the physiological experience as well as the expression of social capital.

For the average drinker, taste is about the physical experience just as much as it is about flavor, but they are not interested in any kind of social positioning in their experience. For a beer nerd, taste is about unique qualities that define a beer, such as the different layers in a stout, as well as the prestige of finding and obtaining a highly sought-after beer. Finally, for an industry worker, taste is about the skill and mastery of crafting a beer. Taste doesn’t necessarily have to be a singular factor since it is extremely subjective, but all that encompasses people’s experience

because it is what makes up the craft beer community, the place/locality and flavors.

Craft beer is not singularly based on what people in the industry like or what beer nerds like, but it is a combination of both where everyone influences each other.

Industry workers have the power to tell beer nerds and the average drinker what tastes good through descriptions, and through their higher knowledge as craft beer connoisseurs. However, beer nerds and the average drinker are the consumers, so Nate has to make those “foo-foo fluff shit” stouts that beer nerds love in order to keep creating the pilsners and classic beers that he loves.

CONCLUSION

IMAGINING OKLAHOMA

In the beginning of April 2019, with the help of the community and loyal followers, Stonecloud jumped to number 6 in *USA Today's* rating of the Top 10 New Breweries in the country. This is huge news not just for Stonecloud but also for Oklahoma craft beer and even Oklahoma in general. Just like the surprise of Oklahoma City being home to the number one restaurant in America, Oklahoma City continues to prove that there is more here that should not be overlooked. As compared to other cities with industries that attract outsiders in, Oklahoma businesses are not in competition with each other, at least this is the case for the craft beer community. A win for one brewery is a win for all because exposure is shared. If people come visit Stonecloud because of the *USA Today* article, there is no doubt that they will check out other craft breweries as well.

Oklahoma breweries share a connection in experiencing the development of the state. They all fought alongside each other to get the laws changed with Senator Stephanie Bice, and have all experienced the frustrations that come with navigating the blurry boundaries of the law. Breweries also share a customer base. Because the industry is so small, the people that drink craft beer influence every brewery. Each brewery knows its consumers and appeals to their ideologies of religion and conservatism, all while pushing the limits to further Oklahoma's reputation on the craft beer map.

Everyone acts as a united unit even if not everyone is completely familiar with each other. There are bartenders and brewers that I have not met throughout my research, however, we still are all members of the same society. We all have the same goal, and that is to further the craft beer community in the state. I used to think that competition was a big part of this industry but in reality, they are all fighting for the same thing. It is more a matter of local companies against national companies rather than individual brewery against individual brewery.

Although not everyone knows each other they still hold a pride in what they do. In talking about the emergence of nationalism, anthropologist Benedict Anderson describes this as an “imagined community” where “members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 2006:6). This is shown in the form of discounts or beer gift giving. When members of a brewery visit another brewery and they either know the bartender or mention they work for a different brewery, a discount is often given to the visiting member. There is an understanding of respect for others in the industry.

Here I wish to bring back Bakhtin’s concept of a chronotope into the discussion. As I mentioned earlier, a chronotope is the play of space and time within the mind. “Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history” (Bakhtin 1981:84-85). In this sense, time is a representation of the people that make up this movement, and space is a fluid concept that can be felt no matter the physical location. So the issues, the excitements, and the experiences of the craft

beer movement in Oklahoma can be felt and understood in other states around the country. This can also be connected to the local food movement, nationally and internationally, a global movement in favor of the local that benefits the economy. In my analysis of the concept of place, I can use the idea of a chronotope and imagined communities to understand that this movement is not something that exists only in a localized area, but is a community that takes shared knowledge and experiences to transcend and grow around the country.

I went on a trip to New Orleans with my parents over the summer and we decided to visit a small brewery while we were there. It was a tiny hole in the wall kind of place where there was very minimal seating. We sat at the bar and in my parent's curiosity of my research, they asked me questions about beer and brewing processes as well as beer styles and canning rituals in comparison to the brewery we were at. The bartender overheard us and he began to ask questions about my research and what I was doing and where I was working. We ended up having a two-hour conversation, until my parents and I decided we had enough beer in our system and needed food to counter the alcohol. When we went to pay, the bartender stated that he had paid for our first round of beers. He looked at me with his fist in the air, "Industry people gotta look out for each other, right?" We were connected in this community through our shared experiences of what it is like within the craft beer industry and how we are growing nationally. He also recognized my social markers of speech and understood that I was IN the industry rather than just a fan of craft beer.

Although at the time I was not, through my research and involvement over the summer, I have since been hired as an official employee of Stonecloud Brewing. Hiring is a way of creating a community as well. Interviewers use their knowledge of the industry and the specific practices of industry workers to hire someone or not. The new employee both fits the mold of other industry workers, and is also expected to enhance the industry through their own individual knowledge and experiences. In this sense, they are creating and molding their imagined community.

Another social marker to identify with other industry members is the sharing and gifting of beers when visiting a new brewery. This is often found in out of state and out of city contexts. Breweries within city limits are so close that there is often a large supply of local brews, but when other breweries come from out of town they like to bring their product to share. I was working in the taproom recently and this couple sat down with a four-pack of mixed cans from a brewery in Texas. I asked what beers they'd like and they ordered four four-ounce pours of different beers. As they tried the different beers I engaged in conversation with them and found out they were from a brewery in Texas and had come to Oklahoma to check out the scene. They stayed for a couple hours, and when they left, they wanted to buy a four-pack of beer from our cooler, but since they brought us beer, we decided to pay for their four-pack. We exchange gifts as a way to support each other's businesses.

There is a strategic way to exchange in this gift giving. A visiting brewery cannot just walk into the bar and say they are from another brewery and ask if they want to exchange beers. The etiquette is to sit down and try a few, engage in

conversation, and then share the gift. You also have to be content with the fact that not everyone reciprocates. This concept of gift giving is not new to anthropological study. One of the first to introduce this was Marcel Mauss (1990), where he discussed the importance of reciprocity within different cultures around the world. He believed that this was a way of reinforcing and creating relationships between people and other tribes and cultures.

For example, the Mapuche are an indigenous group in the south of Chile where reciprocity and gift giving are an integral part of their society. Throughout their lives, starting when they are very young, they engage in a “sociality of exchange” (Bacigalupo 2005: 87), which sets the tone for their relationships throughout their entire lives. The Mapuche must consistently give gifts of equal value as a way to reinforce their personhood within society. These exchanges create a strong relationship between givers and receivers as a sign of respect and community. In the same vein, gift giving within the craft beer community is a means of offering friendship and respect, when performed according to the etiquette. This constant exchange of beer is a way to create bonds between breweries out of state and helps in the growth of craft beer nationally, strengthening this sense of imagined community.

Another thing that helps with the spread of national consciousness, according to Benedict Anderson, is the development of certain technologies, such as print media. This allows for someone in a different geographical location to stay connected even if they can't physically participate, also exemplifying Bakhtin's chronotope. For the craft beer industry, social media is the technology that spreads

consciousness and connection with others throughout the community. The craft beer community does not just incorporate those who are in the industry, but the customers as well. Social media allows for the individual breweries to express who they are and their identity through brand building. For Stonecloud, they want to showcase the quality of their beers, their large variety of skills in the different beers they make, as well as how much fun they are and have while making their brews. Through social media, breweries are able to connect with each other by seeing what everyone else is doing or creating, both locally and nationally. The craft beer industry extends way beyond one state, and with social media the community can connect on a grander scale, where the space and time of different people all gather in one virtual place. This broadens the scope of the “imagined community” because then the sharing of ideas can occur broadly, putting microbreweries on the same footing as macrobreweries like Coors and Miller.

There are even imagined communities within the larger scope of microbreweries. There is the local, like in Oklahoma, where they have similar things that connect them like religion and the state of the “brewnion.” Then there is national that pits the small against the big. This imagined community connects people even if they come from completely different places and backgrounds. A community is something that people belong to and have a relationship with, but the imagined is the abstract feeling that make people experience that connection and that desire to see something, like the desire for the craft beer industry to grow, or even the desire for their city or state to flourish. This form of identity extends no

matter where one is, and the community becomes part of someone's identity in a chronotypic fashion, so that anyone from anywhere can share community.

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